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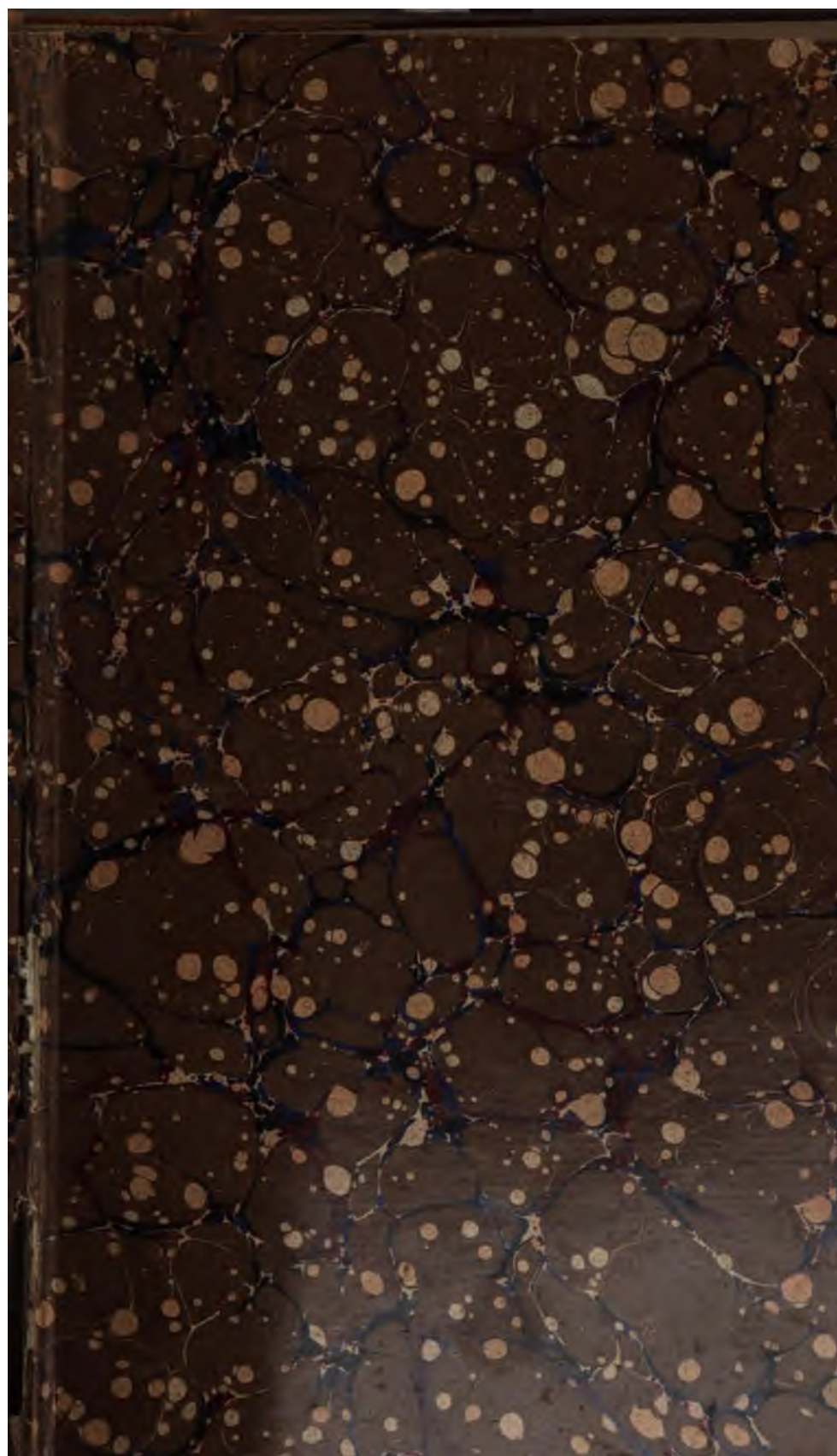


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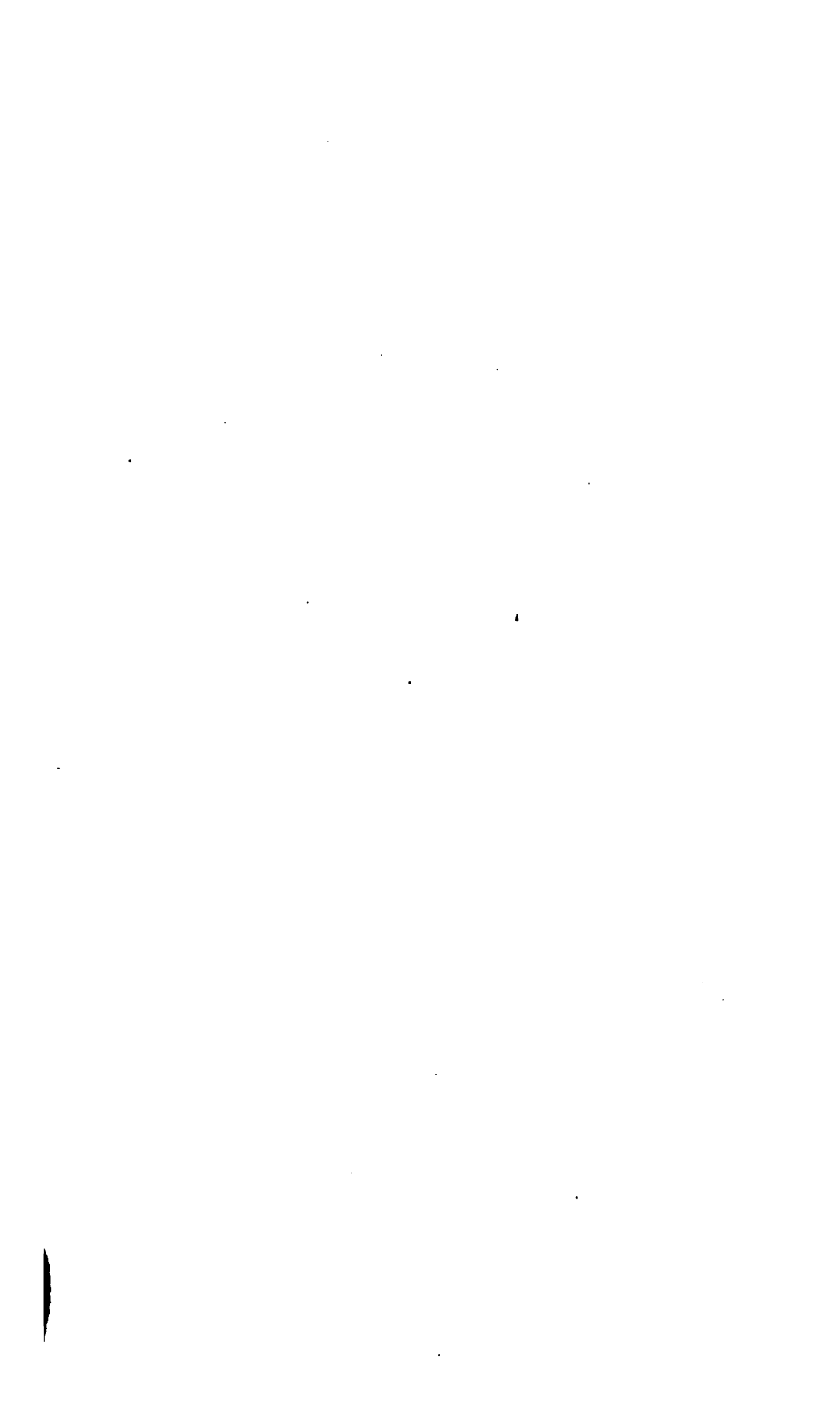
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VOL. I.

NEW SERIES.

No. 1.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE
Annual Session
American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1880.



Worcester:
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311 MAIN STREET.
1881.

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NOTE.

By a vote of the Council, the "Proceedings" of the Society will hereafter be published in yearly volumes.

The first volume of the new series will consist of the Proceedings of the annual meeting in October, 1880, and those of April, 1881, with the accompanying papers. A title page and index will be supplied on the completion of the volume.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. I.

1880—1881.



WORCESTER:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

1882.

H

PRESS OF
CHAS. HAMILTON,
WORCESTER,
MASS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The Publishing Committee of the American Antiquarian Society present as the first volume of the New Series of the "Proceedings," an account of the meetings of the Society from April, 1880, to October, 1881, inclusive, covering three regular meetings. Besides the reports of the Council and the other officers, there are several valuable communications prepared by members of the Society upon various topics. Among them may be mentioned Dr. Valentini's articles on "Mexican Paper," and "Two Mexican Chalchihuites;" "Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America," by Ad. F. Bandelier; Ex-Gov. A. H. Bullock's interesting paper on "The Centennial of the Massachusetts Constitution;" "Origin of the Names of the States of the Union," by Judge Hamilton B. Staples; and Senator Hoar's paper on "President Garfield's New England Ancestry." There are also interesting papers by Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D., Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Prof. Henry W. Haynes, and George Dexter, Esq.

There are the usual notices of deceased members, including the action of the Council on the death of Samuel F. Haven, LL.D., our late esteemed Librarian, and personal recollections of Baron Visconti, of Rome, in a letter from Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D.

The index to this Volume has been prepared by the Assistant-Librarians, Edmund M. Barton and Reuben Colton.

The publication of the Proceedings of the meeting of October, 1880, was under the immediate supervision of Dr. Haven, since which time, the duty has devolved upon the Worcester members of the Committee.

WORCESTER, 1882.

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James Davis

OFFICERS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
FROM ITS INCORPORATION IN 1812, TO JANUARY 1st, 1881;
AND
NAMES OF THE MEMBERS, JANUARY 1st, 1881.

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JANUARY, 1881.

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1880.]

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NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
REV. SIDNEY H. MARSH,	Forest Grove, Oregon,	October, 1860.
JOHN STOUGHTON NEWBERRY, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1860.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1860.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D.,	" "	" 1860.
PORTER CORNELIUS BLISS, A.M.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1861.
HON. SOLOMON LINCOLN,	Hingham, Mass.,	October, 1861.
EDWARD ELDRIDGE SALISBURY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	" 1861.
HON. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT,	Salem, Mass.,	" 1862.
JAMES H. SALISBURY, M.D.,	Cleveland, O.,	" 1862.
PLINY EARLE CHASE, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1863.
CHARLES B. SALISBURY, Esq.,	Little York, N. Y.,	" 1863.
*STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1863.
MARTIN BREWER ANDERSON, LL.D.,	Rochester, N. Y.,	April, 1864.
ALEXANDER S. TAYLOR, Esq.,	Santa Barbara, Cal.,	" 1864.
ASHBEL WOODWARD, M.D.,	Franklin, Conn.,	October, 1864.
REV. CALVIN ELLIS STOWE, D.D.,	Hartford, "	April, 1865.
*EBENEZER ALDEN, M.D.,	Randolph, Mass.,	October, 1865.
HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH,	Worcester, "	" 1865.
*SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D.,	Boston, "	" 1865.
REV. ELIAS NASON,	Billerica, "	" 1865.
HON. LEWIS HENRY MORGAN, LL.D.,	Rochester, N. Y.,	" 1865.
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1865.
HON. ELIJAH BRIGHAM STODDARD,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1865.
RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D.,	" "	" 1865.
JAMES BUTLER CAMPBELL, LL.D.,	Charleston, S. C.,	April, 1866.
NATHANIEL THAYER, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1866.
JOHN GEORGE METCALF, M.D.,	Mendon, "	" 1867.
*REV. GEORGE STURGIS PAINE,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1867.
*HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	" "	October, 1867.
HON. HORATIO GATES JONES,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1867.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1867.
WM. DWIGHT WHITNEY, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1868.
*HON. CHARLES HENRY BELL,	Exeter, N. H.,	October, 1868.
HON. JAMES CARSON BREVOORT, LL.D.,	Brooklyn, N. Y.,	" 1868.
REV. HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D.D.,	Boston, Mass.,	April, 1869.
HON. CHARLES C. JONES, JR.,	Augusta, Ga.,	" 1869.
JOHN EDWIN MASON, M.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1869.
REV. EDWIN MARTIN STONE,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1869.
HON. JOHN DENISON BALDWIN,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1869.
HON. FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY, LL.D.,	" "	" 1869.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL, Esq.,	Charlestown, Mass.,	" 1869.
REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D.,	Andover, Mass.,	April, 1870.
COL. CHARLES WHITTLESSEY,	Cleveland, O.,	" 1870.
DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON, M.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	October, 1870.
ROBERT CLARKE, Esq.,	Cincinnati, O.,	April, 1871.
HON. ISAAC SMUCKER,	Newark, O.,	" 1871.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.,	April, 1871.
REV. ROBERT CASSIE WATERSTON, A.M.,	Boston, "	" 1871.
HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D.,	Salem, "	" 1871.
GEORGE W. CHILDS, Esq.,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	" 1872.
HON. HORACE DAVIS,	San Francisco, Cal.,	" 1872.
BENSON JOHN LOSSING, LL.D.,	Dover Plains, N. Y.,	October, 1872.
DR. FERDINAND V. HAYDEN,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1873.
REAR ADML. GEO. HENRY PREBLE,	Brookline, Mass.,	" 1873.
THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.,	" 1874.
MAJ. BEN: PERLEY POORE,	Newbury, Mass.,	" 1874.
HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT, Esq.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1875.
REV. EDWARD HENRY HALL,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1875.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M.,	Cincinnati, O.,	" 1875.
REV. WM. REED HUNTINGTON, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	October, 1875.
*REV. EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER,	Lexington, "	April, 1876.
EDWARD HITCHCOCK, M.D.,	Amherst, "	" 1876.
GEORGE DEXTER, A.M.,	Cambridge, "	" 1876.
REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD, LL.D.,	Providence, R. I.,	" 1876.
CHARLES CARD SMITH, Esq.,	Boston, Mass.,	" 1876.
GEN. FRANCIS AMASA WALKER,	New Haven, Conn.,	October, 1876.
R. J. FARQUHARSON, M.D.,	Davenport, Iowa,	" 1876.
HON. ALPHONSO TAFT, LL.D.,	Cincinnati, O.,	" 1876.
LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D.,	Madison, Wis.,	" 1877.
PROF. OTHNIEL CHARLES MARSH,	New Haven, Conn.,	" 1877.
WILLIAM FREDERIC POOLE, A.M.,	Chicago, Ill.,	" 1877.
RICHARD ALONZO BROCK, Esq.,	Richmond, Va.,	" 1877.
JOSEPH JONES, M.D.,	New Orleans, La.,	" 1877.
HON. JAMES V. CAMPBELL, LL.D.,	Detroit, Mich.,	" 1877.
JOHN T. DOYLE, Esq.,	San Francisco, Cal.,	April, 1878.
AUGUSTUS LE PLONGEON, M.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1878.
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, A.B.,	" "	" 1878.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1878.
CHARLES OLIVER THOMPSON, PH.D.,	" "	" 1878.
HON. HAMILTON BARCLAY STAPLES,	" "	" 1878.
*EDMUND MILLS BARTON, Esq.,	" "	October, 1878.
HON. CHARLES DEVENS, LL.D.,	" "	" 1878.
CLARENDON HARRIS, Esq.,	" "	" 1878.
HON. THOMAS LEVERETT NELSON,	" "	" 1878.
REV. LUCIUS ROBINSON PAIGE, DD.,	Cambridge, "	" 1878.
PROF. CHARLES RAU,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1878.
FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M.,	New Haven, Conn.,	April, 1879.
MOSES COIT TYLER, LL.D.,	Ann Arbor, Mich.,	" 1879.
PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	" 1879.
HON. JOHN JAMES BELL,	Exeter, N. H.,	" 1879.
HON. JOSEPH BURBEN WALKER,	Concord, "	" 1879.
REV. GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D.,	New Haven, Conn.,	October, 1879.

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List of Officers and Members.

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NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
HOLMES AMMIDOWN, Esq.,	Southbridge, Mass.,	October, 1879.
GEORGE HENRY MOORE, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.,	April, 1880.
GEORGE P. BRINLEY, Esq.,	Hartford, Conn.,	" 1880.
SPENCER FULLERTON BAIRD, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.,	" 1880.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.,	" 1880.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.,	" "	" 1880.
JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B.,	Cambridge, "	October, 1880.
*DELANO ALEXANDER GODDARD, A.M.,	Boston, "	" 1880.

FOREIGN MEMBERS.

CANADA.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	ELECTED.
MAJ. L. A. H. LATOUR,	Montreal,	April, 1861.
DANIEL WILSON, LL.D.,	Toronto,	" 1861.

GREAT BRITAIN.

HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A.,	London,	April, 1854.
DR. T. G. GREGGHEGAN,	Dublin,	" 1863.
W. NOËL SAINSBURY, Esq.,	London,	October, 1867.
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL,	"	" 1869.
RIGHT HON. THE LORD HOUGHTON,	"	April, 1870.

SOUTH AMERICA.

DOM PEDRO D'ALCANTARA, Emperor of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, April, 1858.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

REV. SAMUEL CHENERY DAMON, D.D., Honolulu, October, 1869.

YUCATAN.

SEÑOR RODULFO G. CANTON,	Mérida,	April, 1878.
SEÑOR ANDRES AZNAR PÉREZ,	"	October, 1879.
SEÑOR ELIGIO ANCONA,	"	April, 1880.

BRITISH HONDURAS.

LIEUT.-GOV. FREDERICK PALGRAVE BARLEE, C. M. G., October, 1878.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

GUILLERMO RAWSON, M.D., Buenos Ayres, April, 1879.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

JOHANN KARL EDUARD BUSCHMAN,	Berlin,	October, 1870.
PROF. THEODOR MOMMSEN,	"	" 1870.
OTTO KELLER, Ph.D.,	Stuttgart,	April, 1875.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21ST, 1880, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the semi-annual meeting held in Boston in April last, was read and approved.

The President of the Society read the report of the Council, after which the reports of the Librarian and Treasurer were read, and these, together with that of the President, were, on motion of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Recording Secretary presented to the Society the recommendations of the Council of candidates for membership, after which, HAMILTON B. STAPLES, Esq., and CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., were appointed to collect ballots, each candidate being voted for by a separate ballot. Upon the first nomination, all the ballots were for JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq., and on the second, all the ballots were for DELANO A. GODDARD, Esq., and they were thus unanimously elected to membership.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., asked the attention of the Society to the careful Memorial History of Boston, now in preparation under the oversight of our associate Mr. WINSOR, as the best monument to mark the close of a quarter millenium of history. Mr. HALE asked if members would favor him with any notes respecting the relations between the buccaneers and Boston. Hutchinson intimates in a very

careful note, that in 1652, "the wealth which the buccaneers took from the Spaniards," being brought to New England in bullion in the course of trade, the New England mint was established to prevent fraud in money. As, at the outside, the mint in its most prosperous days, probably did not coin six thousand pounds sterling in a year, this note is a very slight foundation for the suggestion sometimes made that Boston was a hive of pirates. Macaulay goes so far as to say, that Capt. Kidd had "seen many old buccaneers living in comfort and credit in New York and in Boston." Mr. HALE asked if there was any evidence that any buccaneer ever lived in "comfort and credit" in Boston, in Kidd's time. Fifty years before, Thomas Cromwell established himself for a few weeks in Boston after bringing in three Spanish prizes. But he took these under a regular commission from Warwick. There is a full account of the man in Winthrop and Bradford. He gave the Governor a sedan, "which was a very fair one, worth not less than fifty pounds," sent by the viceroy of Mexico to his sister. But, oddly enough, Winthrop is explicit in saying that Cromwell, while he might have had the best in Boston, did live in a mean thatched-roofed cabin for the short time he was here. And this was probably before Kidd was born,—certainly he never saw Thomas Cromwell, who died in 1649.¹

In the conversation which followed, Dr. ELLIS suggested that some memory of Phipps's career might have lingered in Macaulay's mind. Phipps was a rough sailor, and he certainly lived in "comfort and credit" in Boston. But he made his fortune in recovering from the sea a Spanish treasure which had been lost in shipwreck. He also, at one time, held a privateer's commission from the English government. But there is no evidence, and never was any tradition, that Phipps was a pirate or a buccaneer. The

¹ By a fall from his horse.

truth is, Mr. HALE said, that neither in Boston tradition or in the local annals is there any trace of such inhabitants. There is no candlestick, or pistol, or tea-pot, said to be an inheritance from so romantic a source. There is no old house said to have been built by such ill-gotten gains. Nor is there, in the full register of mercantile business and of taxation, any single memorandum which has been pointed at as an evidence of such residence. The life of Boston would have been detestable to any such man, unless he had been thoroughly converted from the error of his ways. A town where he could hardly play cards, where he would be expected to sing psalms at an evening party, and where he would be compelled to stay in the house on Sundays, if he did not go to meeting twice, would be hateful to him. It would have been the last place for him to seek as a harbor after the storms of life.

Macaulay's narrative of Kidd is full of errors, and is, indeed, founded on a radical misconception. But it should be remembered that it appears in one of the posthumous chapters, which would probably have been wholly recast, had he lived to publish them. For Lord Campbell's ignorance, in his life of Lord Somers, no such excuse can be made. Lord Campbell says, for instance, that "after a sharp engagement with an English frigate, in which several fell on both sides, Kidd was captured and brought home in irons." The truth is, that Kidd came into Boston harbor with his wife, in his own vessel, under a passport from Lord Bellomont the Governor. There was no frigate, no fight, and no such capture as is described.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., spoke of the proposal to erect a memorial window to Sir Walter Raleigh in the Church of St. Margaret, London, and to the need of contributions to that object. Dr. ELLIS also, referring to what had been said by Dr. HALE in regard to Capt. Kidd, explained his view of the signification of the word "buccaneer" in our early histories.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR presented a piece of the mill-stone of John Prescott, the founder of Lancaster and first permanent settler of Worcester County. Mr. HOAR stated that "Prescott was a man of great energy and courage, of whom the Indians stood in great awe." The inhabitants of Lancaster desired to call their town Prescott, but their petition to that effect was disallowed by the General Court as "savoring too much of man-worship." Prescott built his mill on the site of what is now Clinton, in season to begin grinding May 23d, 1654. The tradition is that the stone was brought from England. This is confirmed by one of our most experienced workers in stone who says this is an English stone, and that nothing like it is found in Worcester County. Prof. THOMPSON pronounces it an English porphyry. The necessity for bringing the stone from England would seem to show that there were not then tools in the colony fit for working the stone. Prescott was the ancestor of Col. Prescott, and of Mr. Prescott the historian, and many other distinguished persons.

Messrs. STAPLES and SMITH were appointed to collect the ballots for President, and by their report it appeared that Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., was unanimously elected.

Rev. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D., Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN and Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., were appointed a committee to report a list of nominations for the remaining offices. Their report was as follows :

For Vice-Presidents :

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Washington.

For Council :

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.
SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., of Worcester.
HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, of Worcester.
REV. EDWARD H. HALL, of Worcester.
HON. DWIGHT FOSTER, LL.D., of Boston.
REV. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary:

COL. JOHN D. WASHBURN, of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, LL.D., of Worcester.
REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
REV. EDWARD H. HALL, of Worcester.

Auditors:

HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, Esq., of Worcester.

Their report having been accepted, the gentlemen named therein were unanimously elected by ballot.

Pending this election Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR said:

It is not usual to discuss the report of the committee to propose a list of officers. But one of the names reported gives special interest to the occasion. On the third of this month of October, our honored associate Mr. BANCROFT,

~~completed~~ his eightieth year. At the same time he ~~completed~~ his History of the United States to the formation of ~~the~~ federal constitution.

This Society, while it is national and continental in the ~~scope~~ of its investigations, strikes down its roots into the ~~soil~~ of this locality, where its founder dwelt, and where its collections are kept.

For both these reasons we cherish our relation to Mr. BANCROFT. He was born within a few rods of this spot. He is descended by the mother's side from an old Worcester County family who were conspicuous in the administration of its public affairs long before the Revolution. His father was one of the six persons who petitioned for the act of incorporation of this Society, and one of its first members. His brother by marriage, Gov. DAVIS, was your predecessor in the president's chair.

These reasons would be enough to induce us to value our relation. But he has filled a highly honorable and conspicuous place in public life. He is, I believe, the senior living person who has been a member of the cabinet. He is the senior among living persons who have filled important diplomatic stations. He has represented the United States at Berlin and at St. James.

His history is, and doubtless will be, the great standard authority upon the important period which it covers. He is the only person living whose judgment would change the place in public estimation held by any of the great statesmen of the revolutionary times. He has had the rare good fortune among men of letters, to have proposed to himself a great task, requiring a lifetime for its accomplishment, the successful achievement of which is enough to make any life illustrious, and to have lived to complete it with powers of body and mind undiminished. It is his fate to know, while alive, the estimate in which he will be held by posterity. In his case, that knowledge can be only a source of pleasure and satisfaction.

In this Mr. BANCROFT resembles Gibbon. We all remember Gibbon's delightful account of the completion of his great work.

In another thing, alone among great historians, Mr. BANCROFT resembles Gibbon. As an artist he has accomplished that most difficult task of composing a history made up of many separate threads, which must keep on side by side, yet all be subordinate to one main and predominant stream. But his narrative never loses its constant and fascinating interest. No other historian, I believe, except Gibbon, has attempted this without becoming insufferably dull.

Mr. BANCROFT tells the story of thirteen states, separate, yet blending into one national life. It is one of the most wonderful things in our history, that the separate states having so much in common, have preserved so completely, even to the present time, their original and individual characteristics. Rhode Island, held in the hollow of the hand of Massachusetts, Connecticut, so placed that one would think it would become a province of New York, Delaware, whose chief city is, but twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, yet preserve their distinctive characteristics as if they were states of the continent of Europe, whose people spoke a different language. This shows how perfectly state rights and state freedom are preserved in spite of our national union. How little the power at the centre interferes with the important things that affect the character of a people. Why is it that little Delaware remains Delaware in spite of Pennsylvania, and little Rhode Island remains Rhode Island notwithstanding her neighbor Massachusetts?

What makes the meadow flower its bloom unfold ?

Because the lovely little flower is free

Down to its roots, and in that freedom bold.

And so the grandeur of the forest tree

Comes not from casting in a formal mould,

But from its own divine vitality.

But Mr. BANCROFT is more fortunate than Gibbon. Gibbon wrote of decline, of decay, of dissolution, and death; of the days, to use his own words, "when giants were becoming pigmies." BANCROFT tells the story of birth, and growth, and youth, and life. His name is to be inseparably associated with a great and interesting period in the world's history; with what in the proud imagination of his countrymen must ever be the greatest and most interesting of all periods, when pigmy villages were becoming giant states. I am sure that it is a delight to this assembly of distinguished scholars, assembled near his birthplace, to send him at the completion of his great work, and of his eightieth year, their cordial salutation.

Rev. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D., asked leave to call the attention of the Society for a moment, to the case of Henry Ainsworth, the teacher of the Barrowist Church of English exiles at Amsterdam, of which Francis Johnson was pastor. It will be remembered that Neal, more than a century after Ainsworth's death, picked up somewhere a silly story, which he incorporated in his *History of the Puritans* (1732) to the effect that that death occurred by poison administered by a Jew, on provocation somehow arising from the finding of a great diamond by the wise man, which he would only relinquish on condition that its owner brought him to conference with his Rabbi as to the prophecies concerning the Messiah; a condition which could not be fulfilled. Those who have read the *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature* will recall the fact that in that book [p. 344], this gossip was disproved; the fact shewn that Ainsworth's death was the consequence of a lingering disease; and the probability asserted that he died—as did so many of the English in the damp climate of Holland—of consumption of the lungs.

Dr. DEXTER said that, by the kindness of his friend Frederick Muller of Amsterdam, he had, since the publication of the book referred to, come into possession of

conclusive evidence which would show, first of all, that Neal had been grossly misled; and secondly, that he himself had reached an inaccurate conclusion. This evidence was in the shape of a small volume entitled, *The Medical Observations of Nicholas Tulp* (Nicolaë Tulpīi Observationes Medicæ, etc.), first published at Amsterdam in 1641, less than twenty years after Ainsworth's decease. Tulp was born in 1593, and was consequently not far from thirty years of age at the date of that decease, and was, very likely, one of Ainsworth's medical attendants. He was a man of great renown and trust, being at one time burgo-master of the city, and did not die until 1674. In the sixth edition of these "Medical Observations" (1739), the 43d chapter of the second book [pp. 163-165], is devoted to a description of the case of "Henrico Ainswordo, Theologo Britanno"—which, it is stated, was so rare and uncommon as to excite great interest not merely among the Dutch, but also among the English physicians. The difficulty consisted of a *suppressio urinae*, the remarkable peculiarity of which, was that (Ischuria lunatica) it came on with the full of the moon, and only found relief when the moon waned, unless the patient were first bled heavily from the arm, which brought speedier easement. It appears that a post mortem examination of Ainsworth's body (anatome, postobitum instituta) revealed some mal-formation, or mal-adjustment, which caused a pressure upon the venal viscera to which the strangury was due; while relief followed from bleeding in consequence of the relaxation of the system thus enfeebled. Two calculi (uti quoque folliculis fellis, sed parvos, nigros, teretes et, instar pumicis, raros) were also discovered.

It was established thus beyond the possibility of doubt, by this remarkable testimony, or rather by this testimony coming in a way so remarkable, that the sufferings and death of the great exegete were neither due to poison nor to the consumptive tendencies and malarial influences of the

“Venice of the North,” but solely to a disease to which sedentary men are peculiarly liable, and which, as in the case of the famous Robert Hall, has often made life itself protracted martyrdom.

Col. WASHBURN presented some documents in the Spanish tongue, relating to the controversy, not yet settled, as to the removal of the remains of Columbus from San Domingo to Havana, with some observations on their bearings, as evidence upon the question at issue.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., presented to the Society some specimens of Sculpture from the ruins of Uxmal, and accompanied the presentation with some remarks which are elsewhere printed.

Rev. SAMUEL C. DAMON, D.D., of Honolulu, spoke of his publication forty years ago, of the History of the Town of Holden, and of the material in the form of books and manuscripts which he had collected for a recent edition, which collection he now presented to the Society.

The annual meeting was then dissolved.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

ON this sixty-eighth anniversary of this Society, the Council present the report of your interests and operations in the last half-year. The detail of the more important facts will be found in the reports to the Council by the Treasurer and the Librarian, which have been adopted as parts of this report. The lucid statements of Nathaniel Paine, Esq., Treasurer, need no enlargement and little comment, in addition to the merited acknowledgment of his cautious and wise management of the funds, that has given the power to do so much with so limited means, and without incurring any other debt than the debt of gratitude to friends within and out of the society, whose generosity has prevented the necessity of expenditure. The multiplied acquisitions and the activity of the Society and of visitors must require increased labor and expense, and these may be provided for, as in time past by parsimony and forbearance, with the kind aid of friends. But the insufficiency of the Publishing Fund for the duty and profit of putting in print rare and valuable manuscripts, confided for that purpose, demands the constant recognition of the Council and the Society.

Such materials for history will be presented from time to time, as they have been heretofore and in the last six months, but they would be greatly multiplied, if the probability of publication was near. In such a society as this, the pain of insufficient income may be a sign of growth, and if not too severe, it may be healthful and invigorating. It is a lighter affliction than

“The imposthume of much wealth and peace
That inward breaks, and shows no cause without,
Why the man dies.”

The report of the Librarian states that the library, in the last six months, has gained by gift from members and friends of the Society five hundred and two books, two thousand six hundred and fifteen pamphlets, forty-four volumes of unbound newspapers, three volumes of valuable original manuscripts, one hundred and twenty-two maps and other interesting objects; and by exchange of duplicates, one hundred and three books and two hundred and eighty-nine pamphlets were obtained. In all, the accessions of books amount to six hundred and five volumes, and of pamphlets to two thousand nine hundred and four; on these the Librarian gives some remarks that need not be repeated.

The Society will receive with great satisfaction Dr. Haven's account of the desirable and rare books obtained at the second sale of the library of our late associate George Brinley, Esq., in June last. After a careful selection of books noted in the catalogue by Dr. Haven and Mr. Edmund M. Barton, the assistant-librarian, the purchases were made by bids without payment, by Dr. Haven, Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr. This privilege granted, as it will be remembered, by Mr. Brinley's family, in conformity to his wishes, to several institutions, has been the subject of unfavorable criticism. If he had the right to give these institutions a part of his library, it is not easy to devise a more impartial allotment. It is said, the effect was to increase the cash product of the sale. That is not certain, for the presence of free bidders tended to diminish the number of cash purchasers. Under any arrangement, a library so well known and attractive would command a high price.

The Council cannot pass without a slight notice Dr. Haven's description of the improvements for keeping and consultation of books, in connection with the enlargement of the hall. The changes commend themselves at once and they have increased the visits to the Library and the facility of research. The local knowledge and the love of histori-

cal investigation of the assistants, Mr. Barton and Mr. Reuben Colton, are ready keys to the treasures under their care. The five thousand bound volumes of newspapers are now set in classes, where they can be seen and conveniently handled. The opportunity of examining these improvements at this time makes it unnecessary to pursue this pleasant subject.

It is well to call to mind, what our predecessors have not forgotten, that the society was not founded for its own glory nor for the privileges of membership, but for the promotion of antiquarian research and historical knowledge, primarily in regard to this continent. There are no honorary members, and membership carries with it the obligation of service for the objects of the institution. This service may be rendered by those who meet here and keep up the organization. But many members, as our system requires, are scattered through the whole extent of this continent and beyond its bounds, and are unable to assist in our meetings, or visit our hall. Yet they may receive an appreciable benefit in the encouragement and light, that come from our aggregate labors, for which they may give an ample return in occasional correspondence and contributions, and always in collateral work. This Society has received and is now receiving great benefit from remote members.

It is an appropriate custom in the reports to take some notice of the faithful individual action of members at home and abroad. It must be brief and imperfect, but as far as it goes, it is an act of justice to the deserving and a source of encouragement and strength to all. And first with a reverent eye, we should look for those whose labors are ended. In the last six months, this Society has lost two members. Hon. Daniel Waldo Lincoln, of Worcester, was killed by an accident in a railway car, at New London, Conn., on July 1, 1880, at the age of 67 years, 5 months and 15 days. He was struck down in the fullest strength of

his bodily and mental powers, from a position of great responsibility, which he filled with the highest confidence and the honor of the community. His clear judgment, his integrity and his public spirit, gave him a prominence for trusts and duties in business that were more to his taste than antiquarian pursuits. He acquiesced in rather than accepted membership, in deference to the desire of his father, Hon. Levi Lincoln, expressed in the last days of his life, that one of his sons should be connected with a society to which he had devoted so much liberality and beneficial service. The father and the son emphatically disclaimed the name of scholar in literature or science. But scholars could not associate with either, without gaining much from their intelligent and disciplined minds. Mr. D. W. Lincoln graduated at Harvard University in 1831 and passed through a course of legal study. He was a faithful student, with little ambition for the honors of scholarship. He was never aware of his debt to the humble drill of old times, for the powers of his mind and the readiness and correctness of his language. A college cannot do a better work than training such men of business.

While we are presenting this report, we are informed that this Society has lost an associate distinguished for his personal dignity and the abundance and importance of his labors as an antiquary. Baron Pietro Ercole Visconti, elected to our membership in April, 1865, died at his birthplace and home, in the city of Rome, on the 14th of October, 1880, aged seventy-nine years. His ancestors for several generations were famous as archaeologists and architects. His grand uncle, Ennius Quirinus Visconti, who died in 1818, stands out so prominently, and perhaps it is because he was prior, as well as prominent, that he seems to have overshadowed all his family. Several respectful notices of this nephew allude to the uncle as better known. Yet, Pietro Ercole Visconti was honored for his character and scholarship, appointed to laborious and responsible service, and

associated with most learned societies. It is said that he was decorated with more than twenty-five foreign badges of intellectual eminence. But no foreign hand conferred the honor and gratitude that attended him as the author of valuable archæological books, the wise director of excavations for the discovery of buried works of art, and the successful indicator of interesting sites and localities. In these duties he had been engaged for many years, as the head of the Municipal Archæological Commission. It is pleasant to remember that Baron Visconti recognized his connection with this Society in 1875, by presenting to our Library, a portrait bust of himself and bulletins of the Archæological Commission, and some of our associates had personal knowledge of the graceful courtesy and solid worth of this rare old Roman.¹

An Italian notice of the death of Baron Visconti thus expresses the opinion and feelings of those who knew him best. "His great activity in the archæological field was not manifested so much in his writings as in his incessant labors. Among many chairs occupied by him, was that of Professor of Archæology and History in the Roman University, to which he gave an archæological cabinet. He received the title of Baron from Pope Pius IX. and more than thirty orders of merit from the Sovereigns of Europe. We would not pass in silence the fact that our archæologue was a gentleman, very amiable, religious and faithful to the Pope, but not intolerant. He was also a poet, as occasion prompted, and his sharp epigrams were repeated in the salons of Rome."

The council have now the first opportunity to pay a deserved tribute of respect to a member, whose death in misfortune and exile has recently come to our knowledge. Signor Don José Fernando Ramirez of Mexico was elected to membership in April, 1862. He was born in the begin-

¹ A letter from Hon. Robert C. Winthrop giving his personal recollections of Baron Visconti was received after this report was written. The Committee of Publication are happy to print the letter on a following page.

ning of this century in Durango, Mexico, and was educated there in the science and practice of law, and rose to great eminence, and held the highest judicial offices, and other places of honor and trust. He was the head of the National Museum, a post for which he was well fitted by his taste for archæology, while he indulged in the collection of rare books and manuscripts on the history of his country, that were obtained from suppressed monasteries and other libraries. He left valuable fruits of his studies in print and in manuscript. A knowledge of his character and tastes led to his association with us, and, if his life and power had been continued to this time, he might have rendered most valuable aid in the effort to elucidate the archæology of Mexico in which many are engaged. In 1851, President Arista made him Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was so eminent for ability and character, that, in 1864, the unfortunate Maximillian charged him with the duty of selecting his ministry, and made him President of the Board. In this office, he strove for two years against the innumerable difficulties that surrounded the newly established government. As a Mexican patriot, he saw only the degradation of his countrymen, and the possibility that an amiable prince supported by the promised strength of the kingdoms of Europe might give them the happiness of civilized life. When the desired result appeared impossible, and the promises of support were disowned, and the French departed from Mexico, Don Ramirez went to Bonn, in Germany, where one of his daughters married a German gentleman, and he spent the residue of his life with or near these children. Though he was not reputed to be rich, he had property enough to enable him to live at ease, and pursue the studies that made him famous as a Mexican antiquary. It was said that he had discovered the key to the old hieroglyphics, and could decipher two thousand of them. It is reported that the sale of his library, rich in his writings and collections of this kind of learning, brought thirty thousand dollars. He died on the 4th day of March, 1871,

in the 60th year of his age, and his body was brought back and buried in the country to which he had devoted his life.

We have the happy announcement that our earliest elected living member, our Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, Hon. George Bancroft, LL.D., is honoring his eightieth year, with the crowning capital of the chief work of his life. He is sending through the press a "History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States," and that Constitution is the natural and consummate fruit of the Revolution that he has so well described. We congratulate him on his extraordinary success. We congratulate him on his extraordinary happiness, that he has achieved this success with his native buoyancy unimpaired, and that his powers of construction, vivid description and terse expression, are made more splendid by use. He seems to be ready to say,

"To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new."

It is also stated in the newspapers that our Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., in addition to his great labors as a scholar and a friend of scholars, is publishing a volume entitled, a "List of Indian Names of Rivers, Mountains and other Localities, in Connecticut, with Interpretations." The desirableness and uses of such a work have been repeatedly discussed at the meetings of our Society, with expressions of hope that Dr. Trumbull would undertake a service, that he has extraordinary ability to perform. These names are the records of a victim race and there is some expectation that they may be the keys to their history in their earlier and better days. A poet of that State has truly sung,

"Ye say that all have passed away,
That noble race and brave,
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crystal wave.
That 'mid the forest where they roamed,
There rings no hunter's shout.
But their name is on the rivers,
Ye may not wash it out.
But their memory liveth on the hills,
Their baptism on the shore,
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore."

Previous reports have informed the Society that our distinguished associate, Hon. Charles Hudson, of Lexington, Mass., has given to our Library his manuscript Memoirs of the "Three Massachusetts Governors from Worcester," Messrs. Levi Lincoln, John Davis, and Emory Washburn; and a similar Memoir of George N. Briggs, another Governor of that State. These are all different, strongly marked, able and honorable men, who made an impression on the history of their time, by qualities which Mr. Hudson well understood. In June last, he gave a similar volume entitled, "The American Trio, or the Characters of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun," eminent statesmen, compeers and compatriots. Mr. Hudson had every opportunity of knowing his subjects, in the long period when he was a leader in the Congress of the United States, and in friendly and constant intercourse with them. Though the temptation to make extracts from these papers must be resisted, it may be permitted to mention that Mr. Hudson takes notice of an interesting fact not often observed, that Mr. Webster "never displayed his powers in presiding," while Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun were eminent in that position. In August last Mr. Hudson gave us another of his manuscripts, entitled, "The Lives and Characters of Edward Everett and Marcus Morton as Governors of the State Contrasted." This is a spirited sketch of two strong men, like and unlike in some of their peculiarities, with whom Mr. Hudson was officially associated as a member of the Executive Council of each of them. Mr. Hudson adds to his last gift, his printed pamphlets which are now rare, "A Memoir of Abraham Lincoln," and "A Letter to President Andrew Johnson." His manuscripts are all very neatly and legibly written by his own pen, and handsomely and protectively bound. He presents them, in his letters to Dr. Haven, with deprecatory modesty, and regrets the change of his handwriting, which he imputes to the chill of eighty-five winters. He speaks of his most recent gift as his last contribution of biography.

To this we cannot assent, while he is able to go before successive generations in the activity of his mind, for instruction and counsel, though his power of locomotion is impaired.

A sensation of sorrow and loss was felt by the scholars of this country and Europe, when it was known that the library of Prof. Theodor Mommsen in his house, at Charlottenburg near Berlin, was burned by an accidental fire on the 12th of July last. This incident was more interesting to us, because Prof. Mommsen accepted membership in this Society. His prominence in knowledge of the institutions, the facts and chronology of Roman history, is universally conceded, and the value of his library was supposed to consist chiefly in rare books and unique materials for those studies. A letter to the writer, from a friend, who knows Prof. Mommsen well, thus describes the scholar and his library. "Mommsen has all the qualities of a great historian. He is thorough and exact in research, skilled in construction, deducing in an orderly manner events from their causes, and showing the whole connection of the centuries. He gives the prominent place to the people, the national life. He is a philosophical historian without pretending to philosophy. One great merit of his work consists in his having discovered new sources of Roman history in ancient laws, which revealed the state of society that required them. He is one of the greatest adepts of our time in Roman law, and is fit to-day to be the professor of Roman law in the best university of Germany. In using the early jurisprudence of Rome, and early and late inscriptions, he threw a degree of certainty on epochs which before had been treated mainly from traditions. As to the character of his mind, he has the most prodigious capacity for work. He throws himself at one and the same time upon several masses of labor, each one of which separately would be enough for a superior man.

As to the great loss which the world sustains by the destruction of his library, I apprehend, but have no more

accurate knowledge than you have, that no very important sources of history gathered from libraries are permanently lost. It is a terrible thing for himself, and for the world, to have his collection of inscriptions, made with indefatigable labor, burnt up; for who will collect them again? But the great loss to both hemispheres is that of his own manuscript writings. He has been for many years preparing a history of the early emperors of Rome; I found him busy upon that work when I went to Berlin in 1867. He has been more or less employed in it from that time; and the general expectation was that from the materials which he collected, his acquaintance with Roman law in every stage of its development, his collection of inscriptions, and his profound and energetic mind, he would throw a flood of light on the condition of Rome under the emperors, and on the characters and reigns of the emperors themselves. The destruction of this history is the greatest loss to the world. You cannot estimate too highly the vitality and energy of the man, his capacity at acquiring and arranging knowledge. He is friendly in his nature, an affectionate husband, and a most kind father. Was ever a man struck by such an accumulation of evils by one disaster?"

The proposition was made and was favorably received in this country and in England, that scholars on both sides of the Atlantic should join in raising a fund for replacing the lost treasures of one, to whom so much gratitude was due and from whom so much more benefit was expected. But Prof. Mommsen, in an open-hearted, courageous and independent letter, dated August 3, addressed to Prof. Nettleship, of Oxford University, thankfully declines all such assistance. He says, "It seems that the importance and the value of my library have been considerably overrated. I was, perhaps not fully but fairly insured. My own collections of thirty years to me can never be replaced. Still I am thankful for the preservation of the materials prepared for our great epigraphical work. They have been heavily damaged, and the restitution will cost me much labor already got over."

Of part of it, "I thought to have written the last page, the very night of the disaster." A private letter from Tübingen informs us that the opinion there is, that the accident was caused by leaving a lump on going to bed, and the loss of the original codices cannot be replaced.

Mr. W. Noël Sainsbury, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, one of our English members, has sent to our Library the Calendar of State Papers on Colonial Service in America and the West Indies from 1661 to 1668 preserved in that Record Office, and edited by Mr. Sainsbury and published in the present year. This book relates to an interesting period, when the popular element gained strength in England and the ties of duty and dependence were weakened in the colonies. Mr. Sainsbury remarks, "by the light of these state papers, we are able to trace the early history of eleven out of thirteen of the original United States." In the first part of the Volume, attention will be attracted by a spirited letter of Gov. Endecott, addressed in 1661, by the order of the Council to Charles II., to ask continued favor and protection for civil privileges and religious liberties, in which the Governor shows his fluency and skill in the rhetoric of the time. The Volume now received is a continuation of a calendar of similar State Papers from 1574 to 1660, issued by the same office in 1860, edited by Mr. Sainsbury, and presented by him to our Library in 1867. He has familiarity and learning in this department, and many of our countrymen have availed themselves of his willing and valuable assistance in their researches. But these gifts have an interest beyond their intrinsic value in leading attention to the English Public Record Office, that produced them. As this institution is in the highest degree congenial and useful to antiquaries, such an account of its origin and present condition, as we are able to give, may be acceptable.

The preservation of documents concerning nations and rulers is a necessity of civilization, that was provided for in the earliest times. The Book of Ezra informs us, that a

highest probability, that the book contained the spirited, eloquent, and it is not too much to say, sublime farewell address of Moses, in which he "charged the people" to keep the important precepts that he had given them. The details of the ceremonial system of Moses could not have been read by the King at one time to an assembly of the people, and were not capable of producing the effect that followed. The system of Moses was overborne and polluted by idolatry, but it did not cease to exist. This was apparent, when the King summoned to aid him in his reform "the priests in their courses," and "the Levites that taught all Israel, which were holy unto the Lord." He made an impression on his people, who had been carried away by the showy rites of idolatry, by keeping the well known feast of the Passover with such magnificence as had not been given to it since the days of Samuel the Prophet, not even in the time of the Kings. It appears that Josiah had no disposition to restore ancient and burdensome ceremonies. He said to the Levites, "Put the holy Ark in the House which Solomon * * did build; it shall not be a burden upon your shoulders; serve now the Lord your God and his people Israel." And he directed that worship should be carried on, not after the ritual of the book that was found, but according to more recent documents, "the writing of David, King of Israel, and the writing of Solomon his son." The Psalms of David and Proverbs of Solomon indicate the spiritual character of the worship, which their authors would teach. Yet the discovered document and its interpretation by a wise woman gave to the King courage and strength to suppress idolatry, and to keep his subjects in true worship during his short reign.

To this conservatism England owes the Domesday Book, the Great Rolls and other collections of the highest value. And with these national treasures, important documents concerning countries not now subject to England have a place. The first calendar of the records of the Tower was published in

1743, not for the use of Englishmen but for the defense of the rights of the rich Province of Aquitaine against an attack of Cardinal Fleury. Though the Rolls were intended for public matters, citizens from time to time obtained the right to enter among them their private contracts. This was a step towards the Registry System of England and America, the most important protection of the rights of property from fraud and mischance. These venerable records are sources of various benefit to the successive generations. Of those relating to legal rights, an English reviewer says with much truth. "Among the causes that have produced the government, which we now enjoy, none perhaps has been more efficacious than the forms and technicalities of our jurisprudence. England owes more to the gray goose quill than to the spear, and had it not been for the barriers arising from the rigid technicalities of the Bench and the Bar, it is probable that at this moment we should be either subjected to absolute despotism or to the more bitter and searching tyranny of a licentious democracy." It is no more than justice to England to remember, that in the activity and development of the nation, authoritative documents on public matters were poured out faster than they could be placed in order and safety, and thus it happened that they were left in unsorted and decaying heaps. This *embarras de richesse* was made known long ago. In 1661 William Prynne was appointed by Charles II., for the care of the records in the Tower of London, with an allowance of £500. He performed his duty with the zeal with which he made and marred everything. In his letter to the King, he describes the records, as "a confused *chaos*, under corroding, putrifying cobwebs, dust and filth, in the darkest corner of Cæsar's Chapel, in the White Tower." In attempting "to rescue the greater part of them," he employed successively the "old clerks, soldiers and women," and all abandoned the job as too dirty and unwholesome. Then he and his clerk spent whole days in

cleaning and sorting them. He adds that, as he expected, he found "many rare ancient precious pearls and golden records, relating to Parliament, the Courts, and all the interests and affairs of the Kingdom, and of foreign governments and territory connected with England, besides other records of more private concernment. All which will require Briareus and his hundred hands, Argus and his hundred eyes, and Nestor in his centuries of years, to marshal them into distinct files, and make exact alphabetical tables." The fruits of this labor of Prynne are his "Calendar of Parliamentary writs" and his "Records." Both are valued, though it is said that they contain many errors. In 1800, Mr. Charles Abbott, the popular Speaker of the House of Commons, and on his retirement made Lord Colchester, one of the most energetic and influential men of his time, took the lead in a parliamentary investigation of the condition of the Public Records, which showed how little they had gained in preservation, cleanness and usefulness, in one hundred and forty years. The result of this movement was the establishment of a Record Commission for the custody and management of the Public Records. The first commission appointed by the King consisted of nine members of great distinction and ability, and the Commission was renewed with variations six times before 1831. It was liberally sustained by Parliamentary grants, from 1800 to 1839, amounting to £878,100 sterling. The activity of the Commission was early and chiefly apparent in bringing out and printing important documents. Our library has these three folios issued in 1802 :

1. Ecclesiastical Taxes in England and Wales.
2. Calendar of Patents, open letters of privilege, in the Tower of London.
3. Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum.

These volumes offer a fair example of the variety and the want of connection in these publications. Yet their value

is acknowledged by all students of English history. It was confidently asserted, that since the issue of the first Commission, the duty of rescuing the original records from disorder and destruction had not been neglected, and recently more had been done. Yet public discontent became more clamorous, and the Commission and the government were assailed with reproaches for inefficient administration and wasteful expenditure.

These old documents have been regarded as the dry bones of history, but they have been the occasion of some of the fiercest quarrels of authors. A well known instance is the unscrupulous attack, made by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, a learned and useful antiquary, against Sir Henry Ellis, an honored librarian of the British Museum, and also against Sir Francis Palgrave, who, in his duty as Deputy-Keeper of the Records, earned a respected position and the gratitude of scholars. The reply to this assault, which Sir Francis addressed to Lord Melbourne, the head of the Record department, is a model of self-respecting and confident vindication. In 1831 the Record Commission was renewed by the appointment of twenty-five men prominent for character, learning and dignity. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Brougham, Lord Melbourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls, Sir James Parke and Henry Hallam, and others worthy to be their associates, were members. They were supplied by liberal appropriations, and from 1831 to 1836, they expended, for cleaning, arranging, repairing and binding Records, not less than £10,000 sterling. They printed many desirable records, and distributed them more freely. The character of the Commissioners, and their doings, availed nothing in removing the general discontent, and in 1836 a select committee of the House of Commons made an unsparing inquiry into the administration of the commission and the condition of the records. The committee mention, among the places of deposit of the Records, a room in the

Tower of London, over a gunpowder magazine, and contiguous to a steam engine in daily operation; a chapel at the Rolls, where divine worship was performed; underground vaults at Somerset House; damp and dark cellars at Westminster Hall; the stables at Carlton House, and the Chapter House at Westminster. Many of the records were placed in such confusion that it was difficult to use them and they were exposed to decay and depredation. This investigation brought out to public view a volume of injurious and incredible testimony, showing difference of opinion, contests and recriminations, in the proceedings of this dignified Commission. Accusations of incompetency and dishonesty were strongly pressed against Charles P. Cooper, Esq., the Secretary of the Commission. Mr. Cooper prepared full comments on this testimony in defence of the Board and himself, which were published by the Board. But the disproof of specific charges could not remove the general dissatisfaction. In the same year (1837) the Commissioners presented to the King their "First Report," in which they gave a very brief sketch of their operations. They remark with satisfaction on the character and number of documents published by their predecessors and themselves. They again bring to notice that the buildings in which the Public Records are stored are inconvenient in situation, ill adapted to their purpose and some of them are crowded to excess. Some of the documents are exposed to the risk of fire, and others are "suffering from damp and vermin." As a relief from anxiety about the risk of fire, these strange suggestions are offered, "We have however found that these particular causes of apprehension were stated as grounds of alarm more than a century ago. And as the explosion of the magazine, should such a disaster occur, would occasion not the destruction of the Records only but of the whole edifice of the Tower, and of every person within its precinct, and of the surrounding neighborhood to a very considerable distance, we are persuaded that

every precaution will always be taken to avert so dire a calamity." This absurdity, that danger is diminished by its long continuance and its obvious and appalling consequences, would be unworthy of notice, if it were not found in a paper signed and sealed by some of the best scholars of England. It is only an unneeded evidence of the absence of responsibility in numerous Commissions. The Commissioners impute their imperfect success to a deficiency in their power over the buildings in which the Records are stored and over the Records, and the want of suitable buildings. They recommend that large suitable buildings should be erected on the Rolls Estate and that the control and direction of the Records should be entrusted to a single person. In concluding, they say, "we have described what we have done and said little of what we intend to do. With more extensive resources and enlarged powers, more might have been done by us and we still venture to indulge the hope that further power may be given to us." The report is signed and sealed by fifteen of the Commissioners. Among the ten who did not sign we find Lord Melbourne, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, soon after the highest officer in charge of the Records; and Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls, and soon after as keeper of the Records receiving much praise; Lord Althorpe, Sir James Mackintosh and others. Such a want of harmony is not often made public among such associates. Half of the prayer of the report was heard, and in the same year, the care and management of the Records was given to one officer, the Master of the Rolls, in conjunction with the Treasury, with enlarged powers. The new arrangement was hopefully received, and public favor was gained by printing a large number of records, including chronicles and other attractive narratives; these publications were more frequent and liberally distributed. Our library has the earlier folios, but the desirableness of completing our modern series is apparent. Reproaches for the mismanagement and

delay of the government arose again, and continued for fourteen years, till 1851, when the building of "Her Majesty's Record Office" was begun on the large Rolls Estate, in Chancery Lane. A very extensive, convenient and elegant structure, intended to contain the old Records and similar memorials of the passing day, was completed in 1866. The apprehension occasioned by rapid filling of the shelves is relieved by the opportunity of occupying large adjacent land. It cannot be stated here, what proportion of the old Records has been restored and removed from the injurious and undesirable receptacles to the new Record Office. It is enough to know that the business of removing was not censured, and the Record Office has the confidence and the approbation of the nation. It could not be expected that all the record material would be collected in one place. This would be scarcely possible. Guildhall, Fulham, the Universities, and other honored powerful and tenacious institutions, would not give up the historical gems which are their pride and their wealth. Nor is such a sacrifice desirable, for the example of the national repository will insure a wise and liberal policy in the others and the competition will not be injurious. The Record Office has a well arranged room in which every facility is given for reading and copying the original documents, with some restrictions dictated by public interest, particularly in regard to recent State Papers. This is a great improvement in the opportunity of study, in contrast with the obstructions encountered forty or fifty years ago, by our historian Dr. Jared Sparks, when he was aided by the influence of the American Minister and by other scholars, English as much as American.

In this imperfect account of English Public Records, it should be stated that they have produced in the last twelve years a branch that is not less attractive and useful than the parent plant. The valuation of ancient historical authorities gave rise to inquiries for those that are modern, and "the

have any enjoyment from history. A man must be prepared by especial study to enjoy or use the old Records. But every one who has read Shakespeare, or the more accurate and recent teachers of English history, will be excited and pleased by the possible knowledge of the personal motives and family secrets of Kings without their majesty, and of the Warwicks, Percys, Wolseys and Hydes, around and behind the throne. And learned historians, in their most obscure investigations, are receiving new light from this enterprise, that does honor to the Queen and her liberal and enlightened nobility. For it is chiefly among the descendants of those, who made the Kings and made the State, that such personal memorials are preserved. As the history of America and the history of England have been and must be inseparable, the scholars of our country will have a full share of the new treasure, which they have already used for the elucidation of obscure passages of our Colonial and Revolutionary history.

We cannot detain you by inquiring how the historians of England are affected by this wealth of materials and authority. While it must be of the highest value for truth and accuracy, it is likely that it will be brought out to public view more by the critic and the discursive antiquary than by writers of extended histories. Sir Walter Raleigh undertook to write the "History of the World" when he was confined in a vault of the Tower of London. How many scholars, do we find at work on national histories in the British Museum! The smart saying, that partisan histories are the best, will receive the general assent of writers and readers, for such histories are more easily written, and for a time more pleasantly read. The literature of our day is crowded with attacks and skirmishes on points of history, that have demolished respected authors, and made their works "alms for oblivion," and produced "in the common mind" a vague idea of the duties of a professor of history.

For the Council,

STEPHEN SALISBURY.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE accessions of the last six months are one hundred and three books and two hundred and eighty-nine pamphlets derived from exchanges, four hundred and eighty-seven books and two thousand six hundred and fifteen pamphlets that are gifts: making an aggregate of five hundred and ninety books and two thousand nine hundred and four pamphlets. There have been received besides, one hundred and twenty-two maps, seven photographs, thirty-five engravings and lithographs, four charts, one coin, various manuscripts, and an extension table for service in the work-room. Another accession, a gift from Hon. George F. Hoar, consists of specimens of gold currency, such as it has been proposed to issue from the United States mint, as intermediate between gold and silver.¹ The purchases since the last meeting of the society have been books for the Col. Davis Spanish-American album, to the amount of one hundred and fifty dollars, and fifteen volumes of Massachusetts local histories in the badge library above of such publications.

THE books bid off by us at the late sale of portions of the Stanley library in New York can hardly be regarded

¹ The House and Senate Congress to reconcile gold and silver by mixing them
Report of the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, June, 1879.

The report on metric coinage was made by Hon. A. H. Stephens from the
Report of the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, June, 1879.

The specimen presented by Mr. Hoar, of gold color, and called "One
 dollar," is a four-dollar, or four hundred cents of the metric system.

The specimen, which there are two specimens, were to consist of forty cents
 of gold and sixty cents of silver, the gold not being visible, the coin being about the
 size of a dime. The mixture called goloid was patented by W. W. Hubbell
 of New York. The Committee in their report, say the dollar of this alloy
 would be the same as the dollar of full standard intrinsic value struck in the

strictly as purchases. They are virtually gifts from the Brinley family, and, so far as we are concerned, the auction sale was merely a method of valuation. A list of them with the prices will be printed when the sales are concluded. It will be seen that we have thus been enabled to secure a class of costly rarities appropriate to our specialty, but such as we were not likely to obtain at our own expense. It is from this point of view only that the advantages of the opportunity can be fully appreciated. It is understood that two more sales are to take place as soon as the catalogues are prepared.

In point of interest and appropriateness the recent additions do not fall behind those of past periods of the same extent, and in some respects have a particular value and importance. In this general statement there is of course little opportunity for descriptive references, and the schedule of donations has to serve that purpose. It may not be amiss, however, to call attention to Mr. Hoar's liberal contribution of twenty select volumes and eight hundred and sixty-eight pamphlets, to the thirty-four rare books for Col. Davis' Spanish collection, from the sale of the Ramirez library in London, and to the manuscript deposits from Dr. Edward Jarvis, Hon. Charles Hudson, and Rev. Dr. Damon.

It has been the endeavor always, in our printed reports, to give as full a list, and as distinctive an account of accessions as the space required for the proceedings and papers would permit. Such full descriptions are not customary in the acknowledgments of other institutions; but they have been convenient to some who use these publications for reference, and, in the absence of card catalogues have in various ways been convenient to ourselves.

A change in the form of acknowledgment is suggested by the plan recently contemplated for the rapid production of a card register of the contents of the library, from which a concise bulletin of accessions may be readily printed.

It is believed that in ordinary libraries the catalogue should be an instrument for facilitating their own private operations, and not meant to be a generous contribution afforded with liberality to the common stock of bibliographical literature. Rich institutions may expend large sums upon such costly publications: but to minor collections they are not important in proportion to the labor and expense of their preparation. Besides, there is great waste in the repetition of titles for every catalogue that is printed, when they can be more cheaply referred to where they have already been recorded. An emphatic argument in favor of abridged ones for ordinary use is the diminished space for the eye to wander in consultation. In most cases it is only needed to identify the book, and if more full and exact details of description are required to seek them in the book itself, when assessed, or in bibliographical dictionaries or lists where they are attainable at comparatively little cost. There is a method of securing the advantage of catalogues compiled by other libraries by obtaining two or more copies and transcribing from them, by the aid of scissors and paste, what lines are required for the catalogues of humbler collections. In this process nimble fingers may take the place of costly and slow study in search of clear and compact expressions, and the labor of numerous assistants may be more readily done. It is not claimed that the higher class of catalogues can thus be produced, but one which can be made for a moderate expenditure of time and money. We are happy in being able to announce that the matter of providing this important facility to the members of the Society have been assured by a resolution of the committee of its government, who had been appointed to have an index to the society's proceedings, to make up its completion.

The committee have already rapidly from the simply conventional form of associations formed for literary and scientific purposes, and more or less private and

exclusive in their character, to the public position of a free resort for special studies and classes of technical information, that are daily becoming more popular, pervading as they do many of the most interesting subjects of investigation now largely engaging public attention. A broader and more liberal scale of management, demanding larger expenditures, and consequently larger means, must be expected to follow an expansion of public service. There is no help for this if the institution is true to its purposes, and always ready to meet the demands likely to be made upon it.

It had been proposed to dwell somewhat on the present condition of the library and the library building, their general arrangement and method of organization, to be accompanied by a plan of the interior of the edifice, for the advantage of members at a distance; but the untimely illness of the librarian has interfered with this intention. What has been recently accomplished is an enlargement of the structure, and a provision for warming all its apartments by steam; so that not only are all the rooms cheerful and well lighted but are kept at a comfortable and wholesome temperature during the year. Thus in the lower portion of the building we have, wholly above ground, three useful lobbies, and a spacious apartment, lighted on two sides, for assortment, and the storage of unassorted materials, which has heretofore been found of indispensable convenience with the single drawback of an imperfect distribution of warmth. We have now fitted up on the same floor, in the recent addition, an inviting accommodation for our five thousand bound newspapers; with great facilities of access and use.

The series of rooms above contain the offices, and the alcoves and galleries of the library proper. Here an important improvement has been introduced by Mr. Salisbury, Jr., for the greater security of our treasures. The plan is entirely successful. A view of the books on their shelves is not obscured by the high open-work barrier that protects them, while easy approach is afforded to every part by inte-

rior passages running through the circuit of alcoves around the central areas, and by the galleries, to which casual visitors are not admitted, but which are readily seen from below. Happily it has been so strongly impressed upon the mind of our active associate, that to *preserve* is no less a duty than to collect, as to induce the devotion of a good deal of time and money on his part to that end, for whose accomplishment there were many objections and obstacles to be overcome. The burglar-proof steel safe furnished by our President completes our provision for security from depredation.

We have heretofore claimed that our books and pamphlets were so placed that whatever we possessed could be found by ourselves with little trouble or delay. The proposed new arrangement will now enable strangers to determine without assistance of the Librarian what publications they would like to examine, which is all they can reasonably expect.

The number of volumes now constituting the collection is estimated to be a little over seventy-five thousand, reckoning the numerous pamphlets as a book, and adding to the accession with the permanent accessions received since.

The alcoves in the upper rooms are two stories in height, and are convenient for galleries, and with a long window looking to the entire altitude of both stories. The books are reached by hand without the aid of steps or ladders, and the central centre opening, left for the passage of light, has movable covers that serve as tables. The number of alcove spaces is twenty-two, some of which have been occupied by private donors, and the present arrangement of their contents is as follows:—

A. A. General Collections and
B. B. General Collections
C. C. General Collections
D. D. General Collections
E. E. General Collections
F. F. General Collections
G. G. General Collections
H. H. General Collections
I. I. General Collections
J. J. General Collections
K. K. General Collections
L. L. General Collections

K. (A large corner alcove.)
N. Y. State Documents,
Bibles and Theology.
F. G. H and I. Periodicals.
K. State Histories and Direc-
tories.
L. The R. F. Thomas Alcove
of Local History.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Alcove M. Biography. | S. The Bentley Collection. |
| N. Rebellion and Slavery. | T. Miscellaneous. |
| O. Miscellaneous. | U. Worcester County Athenaeum Collection, and Insane Asylum Reports. |
| P. Massachusetts State Documents. | V and W. Miscellaneous. |
| Q. Learned Societies. | |
| R. U. S. Public Documents. | |

Our building is not fire-proof. I do not know one that is. In its present condition and method of use, however, it is very little exposed to conflagration from without or within; the causes of such a calamity being reduced almost to a minimum, while the facilities for prompt detection, and ready access for extinguishment, are remarkably favorable.

The number of home members of the society is small. There are but thirty-one in Worcester, and these in most cases busily occupied by their private affairs. It is desirable that associates and friends at a distance should understand that the central body are not inattentive to their responsibilities, or sparing of personal effort to carry out the design of the institution; while the executive authorities are endeavoring to make the most of resources that are from time to time supplied by themselves or other private generosity.

The Librarian in his last report called attention to the manuscript note-book of Thomas Lechford, which had been placed at the disposal of the society for printing. Since then it has been copied, at an expense of one hundred dollars, and is now waiting examination by our associate, Dr. J. H. Trumbull, after which it will be printed under the editorial supervision of Judge Dwight Foster, who assumes the expense of preparation and publication.

There are two points which it is proper to recognize in our reference to the present condition and position of this institution.

In what may properly enough be denominated the renaissance of practical interest and inquiry relating to Mexican and Central American archæology, Mr. Stephen Salisbury,

than twenty-five years ago,¹ and that its confirmation and illustration have been the work of all government explorations since.

Our President is called upon to take a wider outlook among scientific operations and scientific men abroad, and does not fail to meet the varied requisitions that are made on his attention and consideration.

S. F. HAVEN.

¹ *Archæology of the United States* by S. F. H., Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Washington, 1855. Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 21, 1867. Report of the Council, Oct. 21, 1870. Report of the Librarian, April 25, 1871.

Donors and Donations.

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- NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Record, Vol. XI., No. 3.
- NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Francis Jordan, Jr.'s paper on The Remains of an Aboriginal Encampment at Rehoboth, Delaware; and Robert N. Toppan's paper on Some Monetary Questions viewed by the Light of Antiquity.
- OHIO STATE SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS.**—Their Twenty-fifth Annual Report.
- ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Publications, No. 5.
- PEABODY INSTITUTE OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE.**—The Thirteenth Annual Report.
- PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.**—The Twelfth and Thirteenth Annual Reports of the Trustees.
- PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Governor Hoyt's "Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne: a Syllabus of the Controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania;" William Elder's Memoir of Henry C. Carey; and their Magazine of History and Biography, Nos. 13 and 14.
- PROVIDENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Second Annual Report.
- ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Lord Aberdare's Inaugural Address, Nov. 14, 1878; and List of Fellows, 1880.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.**—The Contributions, Vol. XXII.; Miscellaneous Collections, Vols. XVI. and XVII.; Annual Report of 1878; and six Paris Exposition Catalogues, 1878.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES.**—Their Journal, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE DE MONTREAL.—Their Memoirs, Vols. 7 and 8.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their *Archæologia*, Vols. XLV., Part II., and XLVI., Part I.; Proceedings, Vol. VIII., No. 3, Second Series; and List of Members, 1880.

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Charter, By-Laws and List of Members, 1880.

TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their Record, as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—The Eleventh Annual Report of Hayden's Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories; the Official Register of the United States, 1879, Vol. II.; and four educational pamphlets.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—The U. S. Life Saving Service Report for 1879.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Mendell's Report upon the Blasting Operations at Lime Point, California, in 1868 and 1869; the Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1879, 3 vols.; and the Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. A., Vol. I.

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, Vol. VIII.; and the Twenty-sixth Annual Report.

WORCESTER CONTINENTALS.—"The Minute Man," a newspaper published during their Benefit Fair, in April, 1880; and the Catalogue to the Antique and Curiosity Department of the Fair.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The List of Additions, as issued.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—The New York Evening Post and Commercial Bulletin, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their Publications, Nos. VII., VIII. and IX.

YALE COLLEGE.—The Triennial Catalogue of 1880; Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Coins in the Numismatic Collection of Yale College; and three biographical pamphlets.

YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF BUFFALO.—Their Forty-fourth Annual Report.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.—Their Twenty-seventh Annual Report.

Report of the Treasurer.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his report, showing the receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 18th, 1880.

The regular income from the invested funds shows a slight increase over that of the last six months. Thirty-seven members had paid their annual assessments up to the date of this report, and one life assessment has been paid.

The accumulated income of the Isaac Davis fund has nearly all been used in the purchase of books for the Davis Alcove.

The detailed statement of the receipts and payments, and the present condition of the several Funds is as follows:—

STATEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS, OCTOBER 18TH, 1880.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

1880, April 24.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$31,006.63	
" Oct. 18.	Received interest to date,.....	968.50	
" " "	" " For Life Assessment,.....	50.00	
" " "	" " Annual Assessments,.....	185.00	
			\$32,900.13
	Paid for salaries, insurance, and incidentals,.....	\$1,189.10	
" " "	Heating Hall,.....	400.00	\$1,589.10
	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$31,311.03

Invested as follows :

Bank Stock,.....	\$9,400.00
Railroad Stock,	1,800.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	12,700.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	6,000.00
Cash,.....	1,411.03
	\$31,311.03

The Collection and Research Fund.

1880. April 24.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$16,949.92	
" Oct. 18.	Received for interest to date,.....	364.50	
			\$17,314.42
	Paid part of Librarian's salary, etc.,	386.25	
	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$16,928.17

Invested as follows :

Bank Stock,.....	\$6,500.00
Railroad Stock,.....	5,300.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	4,200.00
Worcester Gas Stock,	500.00
Cash,	428.17
	<hr/>
	\$16,928.17

The Bookbinding Fund.

1880. April 24. Balance of Fund,.....	\$6,329.86	
" Oct. 18. Received interest to date,.....	182.50	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,512.36	
Paid part of Assistant-Librarian's salary.....	800.00	
Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$6,212.36

Invested as follows :

Bank Stock,.....	\$2,600.00
Railroad Stock,.....	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	2,500.00
Cash,	112.36
	<hr/>
	\$6,212.36

The Publishing Fund.

1880. April 24. Balance of Fund,.....	\$9,165.40	
" Oct. 18. Received interest to date,.....	248.50	
	<hr/>	
	9,413.90	
Paid for printing Semi-annual Report,.....	298.37	
Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$9,115.53

Invested as follows :

Bank Stock,.....	\$1,500.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	5,000.00
City Bond,.....	1,000.00
Mortgage Note,.....	1,100.00
Cash,	515.53
	<hr/>
	\$9,115.53

The Salisbury Building Fund.

1880. April 24. Balance of Fund,.....	\$430.71	
" Oct. 18. Received interest since,	4.00	
	<hr/>	
Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$434.71

Invested as follows :

Railroad Stock,	\$430.00
Cash,.....	4.71
	<hr/>
	\$434.71

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

1880. April 24. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,650.78
“ Oct. 18. Received interest to date,.....	25.00
	<hr/> 1,675.78
Paid for Books,.....	155.90
Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$1,519.88
<i>Invested as follows :</i>	
Railroad Stock,	\$800.00
Bank Stock,	500.00
Cash,	219.88
	<hr/> \$1,519.88

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

1880. April 24. Balance of Fund,	\$1,594.51
“ Oct. 18. Received interest to date,.....	36.00
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund.....	\$1,630.51
<i>Invested as follows :</i>	
Bank Stock,	\$1,500.00
Cash,.....	130.51
	<hr/> \$1,630.51

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

1880. April 24. Balance of the Fund,.....	\$1,005.54
“ Oct. 18. Received interest to date,.....	35.00
	<hr/> \$1,040.54
Paid for local histories,.....	12.56
Present amount of the Fund,	\$1,027.98
<i>Invested as follows :</i>	
Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash,	27.98
	<hr/> \$1,027.98

Total of the eight Funds,.....	<hr/> \$68,180.17
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement,	\$2,850.17

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 18, 1880.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have this day examined the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer, and find the same to be correct, and to correspond with this report. We have also examined the securities and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS.
EBENEZER TORREY.

WORCESTER, October 21st, 1880.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF BARON VISCONTI, IN A
LETTER FROM HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.

BOSTON, 24 Jan'y, 1881.

The Honorable

STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D.,

President of the American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.

Dear Sir:

It gives me pleasure to tell you all I know about my old Italian friend, Visconti. My first acquaintance with him was in 1860, when I took with me, to Rome, a letter of introduction to him from the late Count Adolphe de Circourt. His title then, as I learned from the card he left upon me, was “Il Gran-Commendatore Visconti, Commissario delle Antichità, Presidente del Collegio Filologico del Università Romana.” He was much engaged in the service and under the patronage of the Pope—Pius IX.—in the investigation of the antiquities of Rome. I remember his taking me to the Library of the Vatican, which was much less accessible at that period than it has been of later years. I obtained his leave for the late Rev. Dr. N. L. Frothingham to accompany me, and we enjoyed the visit not a little. All the private Cabinets were opened for us, and we saw more curious things than I can recount or remember. I recall a copy of Henry VIIIth's Defence of the Faith, with his own autograph, presented by himself to Leo X. The Love-letters of Henry and Anne Boleyn were also exhibited to us.

We afterwards went through the Sculpture Galleries of the Vatican, where Visconti pointed out every thing best worth seeing. The next day he sent me one of the most interesting Latin Inscriptions, copied, as I understood, by his own hand.

On another day, he drove with me along the Appian Way, and we alighted to examine many of the most celebrated tombs.

Nothing could have been kinder than his efforts to enlighten me in regard to the localities and monuments of Rome, with which he had a marvellous familiarity.

I was with him again, in Rome, in February, 1868, and on one of his visits he brought with him a splendid gold snuff-box, with an inscription in diamonds, just presented to him by the Pope, in recognition of his discovery of the ancient Roman Quai, where great masses of beautiful blocks of marble, from Asia and Africa, intended for new buildings, had been buried up, unopened, for so many centuries. I met him, by appointment, a few days afterwards, at this famous Marmoretum, where he showed me every thing with interesting explanations.

Once more I was with him in Rome in 1875. He was then the Baron Visconti, warmly attached to the Pope, and with no likings for those whom he charged with intruding on his territories, and despoiling him of Temporal Dominion. He paid me a farewell visit on the 16th of March of that year. He was then infirm and pathetic, but full of courtesy and kindness. I have not been surprised to hear of his death.

Vapereau's "*Dictionnaire des Contemporains*" (4 Ed., 1870), speaks of him as follows :

"VISCONTI (Pierre-Hercule), an Italian Archæologist, born at Rome about 1800, the nephew of the Architect, who died in 1853, and grand nephew of Ennius Quirinus Visconti. He is the author of a great number of Works and Notices inserted in '*les Mémoires de l'Académie Pontificale d'Archéologie*,' and in the '*Giornale Arcadico*.' He succeeded, in 1856, Luigi Canina in the functions of Commissary of Antiquities ; afterwards became Professor of Archæology at the Academy of France ; Correspondent of the Academy '*des Beaux Arts*,' and a Commander of the Legion of Honor. M. Visconti has been decorated with more than twenty-five foreign Orders. Since 1853, he has directed the important excavations of Ostia and those of the Catacombs of St. Alexander, on the Via Nomentana."

Before closing this letter, I have recalled a letter of his (given below), written to me after I had left Rome in 1868. I send you a translation by an expert in Italian. You will see that it speaks of his election as a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and he seems to have duly appreciated the honor. The letter deals mainly with some grand collections of antiquities which he hoped we might have purchased for our Peabody Museum at Cambridge. I had sent him one of our Reports.

I hope to be able to send you, for the Antiquarian Society, the Inscription he so kindly copied for me. But I am unwilling to delay this long-promised account of Visconti until the original paper shall have been returned to me by the friend who has it for translation and annotations. You shall have it whenever it comes.

Meantime, accept with indulgence my little contribution to your Memoirs, and believe me,

Dear Mr. Salisbury,

With great regard, .

Your friend and Servt.,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

P. S.—The inscription has reached me, but without the translation and notes for which I had hoped. And so I send it with an off-hand version of my own, as literal as I could well make it. You could have made a better one, I am sure.

There are difficulties in the Latin, as it stands, which I cannot wholly solve. The lines were evidently composed as alternate hexameters and pentameters. But I cannot help believing that there were mistakes in transcribing, or in filling up the gaps.

Theret must certainly belong at the end of line 3d, instead of at the beginning of the 4th line. That will make the scansion of both lines possible. I was at first disposed to think that *Mugul*, in the 6th line, should have been

Magno; but it has since occurred to me that it may well have been intended to designate Sextus,—as he undoubtedly was,—as of the family of Pompeius Magnus, the Great Triumvir; and I have so translated it. *Spenrans*, in the 8th line, is of course a stone-cutter's blunder for *Sperans*; and the stone-cutter may have made other blunders. An *s* might have belonged at the end of the 13th line, turning *dolore* into an accusative plural, instead of an ablative singular. And certainly, in the last line of all, *cum* must have originally been *cur*. The final letter of this little word has been supplied, and an *m* may easily have crept into the place of an *r*.

But I hasten to send you the inscription just as Visconti sent it to me. His attention must have been wholly turned to the last two lines with their foregleams of immortality. He did not speak of it as a sample of classical Latin, or as a model of elegant versification; but only as a striking and touching instance of that yearning for a future state, to which some of the ancient inscriptions bear witness. He assigned no precise date for it, but ascribed it to a period not far from the birth of Christ.

There were several Pompeys of the name of Sextus, and sons of Sextus, about that time;—three or four of them in lineal succession. They were of the elder branch of the family, which, according to classical usage, may be the meaning of *maxima domus* in the 6th line. It can hardly be supposed that these words were intended to signify “the biggest house.” I do not find, however, that the surname of *Justus* was worn by either Sextus, or that either of them was designated by the official title of *Praeco*.

But I forbear from any further attempts to explain matters in which I do not profess to be an adept. Perhaps the inscription may be found in print already somewhere. It is certainly an interesting one, and you can use it in any way you please.

R. C. W.

HIC . SOROR . ET . FRATER . *viventis . damna .* PARENTIS
 AETATE . IN . PRIMA . SAEVA . *Rapina . tulit*
 POMPEIA . HIS . TVMVLIS . COMES . ANTEIT . *funeris*
 HAERET . ET . PVER . IMMITES . QVEM . *rapuere .* DEI
 SEX . POMPEIVS . SEXTI . PRAECO . Agnomine . *ivstvs*
 QVEM . TENVIT . MAGNI . *maxima . honore . domvs*
 INFELIX . GENITOR . GEMINA . *iam . prole . relictvs*
 A . NATIS . SPENRANS . QVI . *dedit . tumulos*
 AMISSVM . AVXILIVM . FUNCTAE . POST . *funera .* NATAE
 FVNDITVS . VT . TRAHERENT . INVIDA . *fata .* LAREM
 QVANTA . IACET . PROBITAS . PIETAS . QVAM . VERA . *sepulta .* EST
 MENTE . SENES . AEVO . SED . PERIERE . *brevi*
 QVIS . NON FLERE . MEOS . CASVS . POSSITQ . DOLORE
cur . DVRARE . QVEAM . BIS . DATVS . ECCE . ROGIS
 SI . SVNT . DI . MANES . IAM . NATI . NVMEN . HABETIS
 PER . VOS . CVM . VOTI . NON . VENIT . HORA . MEI

[Translation.]

Here (are) sister and brother—losses of a living parent :
 In earliest youth a cruel rapine took them :
 Pompeia came first to these mounds—companion of death
 The boy remains—whom the merciless Gods have torn away :
 Sextus Pompeius (son of) Sextus, a herald, by surname Justus
 Whom the eldest family of the Great (Pompey) included in honor
 (Is the) unhappy father—now by twin offspring left,
 From children hoping one who should have given him burial
 A lost assistance after the death of the departed daughter
 That the envious fates might wholly sweep away his household :
 How great probity lies here—what true piety is here buried
 In mind old—but they perished at a brief age
 Who could help mourning my misfortunes with grief?
 Why am I able to survive,—lo ! twice given to these funeral piles
 If there be deified souls—now, children, you have divine power
 Through you, why comes not the hour of my longing?

LETTER FROM BARON VISCONTI TO HON. ROBERT C.
WINTHROP, LL.D.

[TRANSLATION.]

ROME, JULY 6, 1868.

SIR AND DEAR FRIEND:

I have waited, that the announced diploma of my admission to membership in the Antiquarian Society of America, might reach me, in order to thank you at the same time for your letter and for so valuable a distinction, which I am glad and proud to owe to your esteem and your affection. The little volume that I received with your letter above mentioned, has furnished me useful information, as to your constant care for your country's benefit in the line of the arts and antiquities. If an opportunity presents itself to me of procuring any of the monuments which you indicate, I will make the acquisition and will forward them in the manner suggested to me, esteeming myself happy in contributing with you to the endowment of America with monuments that will make illustrious her history with new demonstrations; or with ancient works of art which will reveal her culture and power; towards which object, it is always to be borne in mind, that money, even in vast sums, is always well spent by a people, when they can obtain with it things that will secure national glory and national advantage. The monuments, celebrated for a century in all the world, of the Villa Albani; those destined to a still greater celebrity, collected by prince Torlonia by purchase and by the excavations of Porto, as by many other happy circumstances, would be those that would serve for America.

The country which will have the one or the other collection (what would it be for the country that should unite both!) would be the first for Museums, finding a comparison alone in that of the Vatican. It is true that the collection Albani may amount to 15 millions of francs, and I believe that the other, of Torlonia, may be valued more than double (from 30 to 35 millions); but when one thinks of the sums which have been lavished and are still squandered in arms and war, may we not be permitted to hope that a better judgment will invest a part of those capital sums in adorning life, not in destroying it; in those studies and arts which render peace and security more beautiful, not in those which extinguish and expel them.

How many precious institutions one will then see founded and made perpetual!

Our classical researches are nourished upon these generous conceptions. I am sure that being able to make them prevail in America,—where the means abound to hope for everything, and where sumptuous legacies have sought to found the great supports of letters,—you will sustain principles so in harmony with your own conceptions, and you will do it with that energy which accompanies your intent.

Believe me penetrated with true esteem and true friendship,

Yours from the heart,

VISCONTI.

M. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MEXICAN PAPER.

BY PH. J. J. VALENTINI, PH.D.

Twenty-four thousand resmas of paper were to be brought, yearly, as a tribute to the storehouses of the ruler of ancient Mexico—Tenuchtitlan.

We learn this from the painted tribute list which forms the second part of the oft quoted Codex Mendoza. There the fact stands, pictorially registered and clearly expressed.

We need not specify the reasons why out of no less than one hundred and sixty-three specimens of early Mexican industry, which are exhibited in the same list, we single out the article of *paper* and wish to make it the subject of discussion. Paper is generally acknowledged to be one of the most important agents of civilization. It is so to-day, and we are authorized to infer that it must have been so in ancient times. The quantity consumed stands in a direct ratio to the intellectual development of a nation. Whatever modification these two axioms may suffer if applied to statements connected with ancient Mexican society, any discussion that derives its main material from so legitimate a source as the above will be of interest to our readers, because it is likely to cast a new and somewhat clearer light upon the social and industrial status of that people. The disparagements as well as the exaggerations of which later writers are guilty, will find their best corrective in the records made by the people themselves.

Before, however, entering upon the several topics which have sprung from the subject in question, it is proper, first of all, that the interpretation we have given of the above mentioned pictures should be stated and verified.

In treating this point, we will follow the method adopted in a previous essay on the "Use of Copper."¹ To repeat what was said there in a more extended way, we advised the student to begin his work by consulting the Nahuatl dictionary for the word standing for that object, on whose characteristics and position in the tribute list he wishes to gather information. After having secured this word, we directed him to make an inspection of the Alphabetic Index, which the editors of the Kingsborough Collection published in Vol. V., pages 42-113. He would find in this index an enumeration of all the proper names and those of towns occurring in the Mendoza Codex, with the additional

¹ *Mexican Copper Tools*, in Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, April 30, 1879.

and exact reference to volume, plate and corresponding picture in the named work. For, as that people had the habit of naming their towns from their most important product, the student would feel quite certain of detecting in the index the name of such a town and in such a form as to exhibit in its first syllables the word for the product from which it derived its name. Now, by the aid of these references the student cannot fail to find the picture which was used for representing the product. He will find the index referring to Volume I. of the Kingsborough Collection, at the beginning of the volume in which the Mendoza Codex is bound. This Codex is divided into three parts. The first contains the annals of the Aztec Tribe, the pictures of their rulers, the cities they conquered, and the signs for the years in which the events took place. The second part contains the pictures or coats of arms of the forementioned cities with the illustration of the product allotted to each of them to be paid as tribute. The third illustrates the education which the Aztec boys and girls received from their cradle to the time when they married. It is the first part of the Codex to which the index refers, and in which the town's name will be found pictorially represented in the shape of a house being destroyed by fire, which is the typical picture for conquest; and at its left side, connected with a string, is the representation of that product from which the town derived its name. In order to get at the name of the town or towns, compelled to pay this special article of tribute, as no particular reference is given for this idea, the reader must impress upon his mind's eye, very closely, the outlines as well as the minute details with which the painter has invested the picture. He will detect it somewhere on the pages of Part 2 of the Codex, which contains the tribute list, among an embarrassing multitude of specimens of its kind, mostly brought in visible connection with another picture, which is that of the tributary town.

At this stage of research a difficulty arises, namely, that of recognizing the phonetic expression of the name embodied by the painter in this strange pictorial representation of a Mexican municipal coat of arms. This last information, however, may be derived from the text, which the viceroy Mendoza caused to be added to the precious Codex that bears his name. It will be noticed that each of the objects painted in the tribute-list was provided with a number, by the aid of which, together with that of the paged plate on which it stands, the student may refer to the explanatory text, Vol. V., Kingsborough Collection, pages 42-113, and thus become satisfied in regard to this first question.

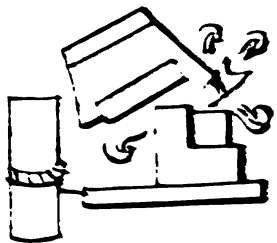
Having thus explained the method of research to be followed, let us now proceed to show how it would work in connection with Mexican Paper.

In the Nahuatl language the word for *paper* is *amall*.¹ The Index, Vol. V., Kingb. Coll., page 117. presents *Amallan* as the name of a town,

¹ *Molina* (Fray Alonzo de), Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana. Mexico, 1571, page 4, verso.

with a reference to Vol. V., page 15, fig. 6. As indicated above, the picture which corresponds to this reference, and of which a facsimile is

CUT 1.



shown in Cut 1, appears in the form of a piece of masonry from under whose crumbling roof smoke and flames burst forth. Near it, at the left, and appended to the drawing of the burning house, we notice another drawing concerning the character of which there cannot be the least doubt. It stands for a roll of paper. The shape, the white color and the string with which the sheet is tied, tell their own story. We are now certain that we have secured a

typical Mexican representation for *paper*, which in one way or another would always return in the same shape, when paper was to be illustrated. Remembering this picture we now pass to the inspection of the pages of Part 2, the Tribute-List, and find a very similar sign of paper on page 38. (See Cut 2.) Excepting for a slight deviation from our pattern, which shows the sheet cut straight, while this

Cut 2, has the edges curved, and moreover, that from the upper edge something peeps out which looks like a black hooked nail, the two pictures, indeed, appear to be identical. Casting a glance at the plate on which the picture stands and understanding the arrangement given to the multitude of its colored companions, the student cannot fail to observe that on the left hand of the plate there is a series of pictures running perpendicularly up

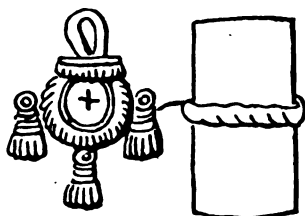


and down the page, which at the bottom turns a right angle to the right. Within this rectangular shaped series the painter placed the emblems for the towns, sixteen in number. All of them, as was the custom, exhibit the figure of a green hill, on whose front the product is painted from which the town derived its name. One picture, however, which is the 12th in number, is an exception to this rule. It does not appear drawn upon a green hill. This circumstance might perplex the student, and possibly cause him to doubt whether he sees the emblem for the town or that of the tribute itself. Therefore, he will do well to follow our advice, and with the aid of No. 12 picture and of No. 34 plate, consult the explanatory text, standing in Vol. V., page 61, plate 94. There he will find the names enumerated for all the sixteen towns, and that of our No. 12 connected with "*the town of Yzamatlan, as it is called in eight thousand names of paper.*" Should the student at the same time feel curious enough to ask for the linguistical analysis of this name, his previous knowledge, that *Amatlan* means *paper-city*, would still be enriched by learning from the dictionary that the prefix *yz* (abbr. from *iztli*), the Nahuatl word for either *thorn* or *nail*. We cannot account for the motives that people had to weld the words *thorn* and *paper* into the body of a town's name, and refrain from making suggestions; but

we think that our analysis of the name can be accepted as correct from the fact, that in order to represent the name in the wonted ideographic style, the painter added to the sheet of paper the picture of the hooked object, which we are now authorized to consider a *thorn* or *nail*.

The picture for the town being found, it still remains for us to show where to look for that of the tribute itself and the eight thousand resmas, of which the text spoke. To get at this, we have no other guide than common sense. The painter, as will be noticed, omitted to express by any hint, to which of the emblems of the sixteen towns the articles of tribute belong, which fill the rest of the plate, on the right hand of the series of towns. Nor does the additional *résumé*, which was appended to the explanatory text, help us to a better understanding of the new problem. To be brief, the picture is to be sought on the following plate, 27, of which the text fortunately took care to state that it is a continuation of the preceding. This plate shows no perpendicular series of towns,—only a small horizontal row (17-21), five in number. Above it, among the various pictures, one strikes our eye at first sight—that which is numbered fig. 16. It reproduces exactly the former features of the drawing for paper, and this is the reason why this picture should not be connected with any other of the twenty-two towns, except that of *Yzamatitan*. We notice that it has an object appended at the left (see Cut 3), the meaning of which must be explained,

CUT 3.



since it is still new to us. It stands for the number *eight thousand*, which is always represented by a pouch or bag. It is trimmed with fringes, and as other ornaments there hang down on the sides two tassels and a third one below. On the front of the pouch we distinguish a little cross.

Here is the place to lay before our readers an epitome of the general

features of Mexican pictorial numeration.¹

Pictorial numbers were produced by the combination of only four symbols. 1) All units up to the number twenty were represented by a small circle or dot. 2) The number *twenty* itself was designated by a

CUT 4. flag (Cut 4) and was called *compalli*. 3) A third symbol was the number *four hundred*, a feather standing up-right (Cut 5) called *compallipilli*. 4) For the number eight thousand, the pouch (Cut 3) was used. The system, therefore, was based upon

symbolizing the products of twenty.



¹ See *Leon y Gama*, Descripción Hist. y Cronológica de las dos Piedras, etc. Parte II., Appendix 2, page 128. Edit. C. M. Bustamante, Mexico, 1832.—*Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, Tom. I, Entrega 6^{ma}, page 258.

For the natives started with the idea that in the ten fingers of the two hands, and the ten toes of the feet, nature herself had been so wise as to preindicate by what law they should govern themselves in their daily accounts. By the combination of the four symbols they managed to express any number they needed. The mode of arranging the units or dots was to set them by *fives*. For instance, the number twelve was

Cut 6. painted as in Cut 6 and nineteen as in Cut 7. We find, however, that in the case of expressing the number *seven*, the two units were not placed *beneath*, but in a line with the fives, yet in such a way as to mark the dis-

continuation. We learn this from a monument¹ in which the artist wished to express the days-date, 7 Acatl, as will be seen in Cut 8. When they had a year's date to express, they set it within a frame (see the first part of the Mendoza Codex), but always so that the fives were set lengthwise and the numbers less than five, sideways. So the year 13 Acatl was represented in the very same way, by painters and by sculptors. For this we

Cut 9. quote the Mendoza Codex, page 9, and the tablet at the top of the Mexican Calendar Stone (Cut 9). These instances will suffice to explain the method of writing units.



The combinations between twenty and four hundred were expressed by the symbol of the *flag*, so that two flags close together meant the number forty, three flags that of sixty, and so on. To express three hundred and forty-seven, they would have painted seventeen flags and seven dots. But they made variations in cases when the number could be divided by five; they then divided the field of the flags into four squares, and filled out only three squares, leaving the fourth square blank. In this way the number seventy-five would have been represented thus: (Cut 10). Cut 10.

This illustration is taken from Gama.

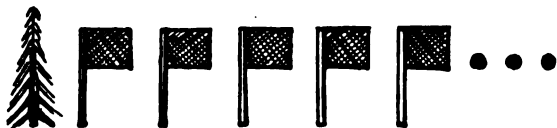
As four hundred was represented by a feather standing upright, the number five hundred and three would be painted in the following way: (Cut 11).



¹ The monument can be seen copied, in full, in the Spanish Translation of Mr. Prescott's work on the Conquest of Mexico, made by *Joaquin Navarro*, Mexico, 1845.

CUT 11.

One feather
five flags, and
three dots: but
if five hundred
and five were
the number,



then the sixth flag would be divided into four squares with three of them remaining blank.

There was no other sign, besides that of the pouch, beyond the number eight thousand.

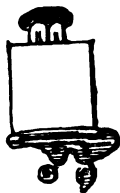
If we now revert to our subject, according to the explanation given we should infer that the pouch connected with the paper stands for eight thousand sheets of paper. However, we are warranted in stating that the amount was twenty times as much, hence 160,000 sheets. The multiplication by 20 comes in this way: The Mexicans, in wholesale, counted by collective numbers—as we do when we speak of eighteen score eggs or six reams of paper. This collective number was always twenty. Yet, according to the character of the objects, these twenties assumed different names. On the sale of poultry, fruits, and objects that were round or could be rolled, they counted by *stones* or *tell*. For objects or persons looked at in rows, like posts, stones or soldiers, they used the expression *walls* or *pantli*. Objects which were always sold one above the other, as dishes, plates, etc., were counted by *blankets* or *tlamail*. All fruits that grew in grains, or seeds grouped around a centre, like maize, cacao, pineapples, and also bananas, were sold by cobs or *olotl*. All that could be hung up, as clothing or skins, were sold by *hangings* or *pilli*; and under this heading we find our object,¹ the paper, which they probably used to hang up for its better preservation in the humid climate, though we find it also mentioned among the objects counted by *tlamail*. Now, as a tribute paid by *xiquipilli* or eight thousand undoubtedly will be considered a business conducted on wholesale, the amount of paper represented in our picture cannot fairly be counted by single sheets, but by scores, and therefore we must assume that the city of Yzamatitlan was tributary in 160,000 sheets of paper. Thus it is also expressed in the explanatory text, which with one exception,² always speaks of *resmas* (reams). Nor do we think we go too far in assuming that the painter tried to express this. We feel confident that if he had desired to indicate a tribute of single sheets, he would have drawn a plain sheet, and not, as he did, a bundle *tied with a rope*.

¹ Molina, u. s. pages 118—121; La cuenta numeral en lengua Castellana y Mexicana.

² This takes place on page 59, Codex Mendoza, Kgb. Coll., Vol. V, where the interpreter set down the word: *pliegos*, sheets. This is, however, a mere slip of the pen. For, returning to the same subject, he again employs the word *resmas*, as everywhere, in this connection.

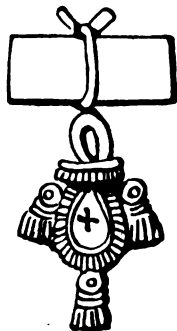
We have not yet finished our search for "paper" in the tribute-list. There is still another tribute picture of it registered on plate 24, which plate exhibits the same arrangement of towns and tribute articles as the former (Cut 12.) It bears the number 12, and does not strike the eye at first sight. The sheet of paper shows a yellow tint, and on its upper edge a pair of teeth is represented, the gums being of red flesh color, the teeth white and on the whole remarkably well drawn from nature. On the lower edge we notice a blue object attached, which is a typical symbol for *water*. The Spanish text, in Vol. V., page 59, gives the interpretation of this coat of arms as being that for the town of *Amacoztilla*. As the affix *coztic* means *yellow*, and as we were already informed that *amall* means *paper*, we learn by this analysis that the town, undoubtedly, was tributary of a certain sort of yellowish paper. Also in this case the picture for the tribute of paper must be sought on the next plate, 25, where it appears marked with the number 11, and becomes conspicuous by the pouch appended to it (Cut 13.)

Cut 12.



In order to gain more exact information, let us make use of the reference given through plate 24, fig. 12, and consult the text in Vol. V., page 60. We find again, that eight thousand resmas of paper were to be paid. Again, however, we miss the statement which of the sixteen towns appearing on the plate were tributary? Yet we think as before, that there is no other reasonable choice to make than to allot it to that of the town of *Amacoztilla*.

Cut 13.



There is still a last question to be solved. It arises from the circumstance, that in the *résumé*, appended to the text, Vol. V., page 60, we find the following remark: "All this tribute was given as a whole, and from six months to six months." Tribute, as a rule, appears to have been paid *annually*; and as the *résumé*, appended to the text mentioning the tribute of the town of *Yzamatitan*, is silent on this topic, we think that this town was no exception to the rule. In regard, however, to the town of *Amacoztilla*, we must accept the express statement made by the interpreter of a *semi-annual* tribute of paper. The reason for charging *Amacoztilla* with a double amount may be detected, in the yellow and therefore coarser quality of paper which it had to furnish. The Spanish *resma* (ream) is nothing else than an expression, which fortuitously coincided with the Mexican *pilli* or twenties. If therefore *Amacoztilla* yearly, gave 16,000, and *Yzamatitan* 8,000 resmas, and if each resma contained 20 sheets, our assertion at the head of these pages, that the yearly tribute of paper to the City of Mexico was of 24,000 resmas, equal to 480,000 sheets, may be considered to be correct.

In our previous dissertation on Mexican Copper Tools, we showed how by following up a certain method of research, the Codex Mendoza

can be made useful in eliciting facts which may cast light upon the ancient industrial status of those people. The present dissertation on "Paper" seems to give additional proof that the method stands its test, and may be employed, in future, with advantage. The student will consider that in consulting those pictures, he is going directly to the headquarters of information.

A few questions of interest arise in connection with our present article on Ancient Mexican Paper. Let us confine them to the subject—1) of its manufacture and different sorts, 2) of the form of its exaction as an article of tribute, and 3) of its employment for various purposes.

In order to give the discussion of these topics an authoritative basis, the reader, during its course, shall be made acquainted with all such passages and statements, as we were able to gather from the ancient writers.

In considering the manufacture of paper, our information on the processes which were in use, is scarce indeed. It is, however, sufficient to make us acquainted with the substances that were employed, so that by the aid of the combined data, any specific analysis likely to be undertaken of the various relics still in existence may the more readily afford us a definite result.

The first specimens of American paper which came to the hands of the Spaniards, were found, as it seems¹ on the coast of Vera Cruz immediately after Cortez's landing. They were covered with pictures bound in the form of books, and were sent to Spain among the presents which Cortez some time later received for his monarch from Moctezuma. So, at least, we may infer from the list of these presents,² in which appear "*Two books of those which the Indians have made,*" and "*Six specimens of drawings; another one which is red and has a few circles traced on it, and two specimens painted blue.*" On their arrival, Petrus Martyr, the Imperial Counsellor, as would be expected from a scholar, gave those Indian books a very close attention. He writes of them to Pope Hadrian in the following terms:³ "They do not

¹ *Torquemada*, *Monarquia Indiana*, IV., 19: Hallaron (Cortés) en un río, adonde despues se pobló Vera Cruz la Vijia . . . unos idolos, braseros para sahumar y muchos *libros de papel*, en que conservavan sus ritos y ceremonias, los sucesos de casos acaecidos é historias.

² This highly interesting document may be found printed in "*Disertaciones sobre la Hist. d. l. Rep. Mexicana*," por *D. Lucas Alaman*, Mejico, 1844, Tom. I., App. 2, pages 91—101. It is signed by the names of the two messengers (procuradores) Puerto Carrero and Franc. de Montejo, July 6, 1519. The text for our reference runs thus: "Mas dos libros de los de acá tienen los indios," (pag 99) and "Seis piezas de pincel: otra pieza colorada con unas ruedas y otras dos piezas azules de pincel."

³ *Petr. Martyr*, de Rebus Oceanicis, etc., Coloniae 1574, pag. 355, alin. 1, Dec. IV., 8. Non foliatim libros concinnant, sed in longum distendunt, ad plures cubitos: materias in quadratas reducunt partes, non solutas sed tenaci bitumine flexibilis adeo conjunctas, ut ligneis compactae tabellis, arguti librarij videantur manus subijisse. Quacunq; pateat liber apertus, duae sese facies offerunt, duae paginae apparent, totidem sub illis latent, nisi protendatur in longum.

blind them as we do, leaf by leaf, but they extend one single leaf to the length of several cubits, after having pasted a certain amount of square leaves one to the other with a bitumen so adhesive, that the whole seems to have passed through the hands of the most skilful book-binder. Whichever way this book was opened, it would always present two sides written and two pages appear, and as many folds, unless you extend the whole of it." "We have said before that these natives had books, and the messengers who were procurators for the new colony of Coluacana, together with other presents, brought many of them hither to Spain. The leaves of these books, upon which they write, are of the membrane of trees, from the substance that grows beneath the upper bark, and which they say is very scarce. It is not like that found in the willows or elms, but such as you find inside of certain edible palm trees, and which, resembling coarse cloth, grows between the intersecting leaves, precisely like network. These porous membranes they fill up with bitumen and render them pliable, and stretch to whatever form they please, and being made hard again, they cover them with a certain kind of gypsum. I, however, presume that the paper, which they (the messengers) have seen preparing, was made with a substance that is only similar to gypsum, beaten and then sifted into fine flour, and thus a substance prepared upon which one may write whatsoever would occur to him, and wipe it off with a sponge or cloth, and then use it again."

This statement is concise, and of remarkable clearness. There is a ring of truth in it, which makes us believe that the alleged messengers actually happened to be eye-witnesses of the act of paper-making by the Indians. Though the tree of which the membrane was taken is not named, it cannot be other than the so-called rubber tree (*Castilloa elastica*), whose ancient Nahuatl name of *amall* points directly to the office it once performed, and this word for the tree has survived in the language of the whole Central American people. What kind of resin was employed and what chalky powder² a future chemical

¹ Id. pag. 354. Diximus libros habere gentes has. Libros attulerunt unâ cum caeteris muneribus hi Coluacanae novi coloni, procuratores, nuncij, multos. Scriptibilia sunt eorum folia ex interiore arborum tenui cortice, sub libro superiore creato. Rarum ajunt esse: uti videmus non in saliceo aut ulmeo, sed uti cernere fas est in palmularum esui aptarum, tela dura folia exteriori intersectante: veluti retia foraminibus et maculis angustis contexta, bitumine tenaci retiacula compingunt. Adaptatam hinc formam mollefacta convertunt, et extendunt ad libitum, duremque facta liniunt gypso. Putandum est autem eos aliqua gypso consanguinea materia tabellas vidisse. Credendum est gypso in farinam cribrato superfultas, in quibus quicquid venit in mentem, scribi potest: dehinc sponsula vel panulo deleri, ut denuo reiteretur. Ex ficuum tabellis fiunt libelli, quos magnarum domorum dispensatores per fora secum ferunt, styloque metallico merces emptas comptant, delendas quando jam in computatorios codices traduxerint.

² We take the following from Molina's Dictionary, page 159: "*xicaltell*, a certain varnish of white stone, upon which was painted or gilded; or

analysis will teach us, for there are specimens of such fibrous paper still in existence.¹

In connection with paper made of vegetable substance there is still another passage to be quoted. It comes from Bishop Landa,² whose long residence in Yucatan and among the Indians settled on the Atlantic coast of Mexico entitles him to be heard when he seeks to inform us on Indian paper manufacture. He says: "They wrote their books on a large and many-folded sheet, the whole of which they shut up within two nicely prepared boards. The writing was in columns and according as the folds run. It covered both sides. The paper was made from the roots of a tree, and was given a white lustre, on which they could write perfectly well."

From this statement it would appear that the roots of some tree had been employed as the main substance for manufacturing paper. The possibility of this cannot be absolutely denied, but Landa in this assertion stands alone among all other authors who have written on the same subject. We presume, however, that Landa's statement, in substance, tells the truth, and that he was careless only in the form of his expression. We interpret the passage in the following way:

It is the peculiarity of the rubber tree that after attaining its full development, the base does not present the plain round form of other trees. It presents a fanciful appearance, as if a large number of long triangular boards were grouped around the foot and were leaning against it in order to support its gigantic structure, a support which it needs, considering the wide expansion of its crown, and the hurricanes that occasionally sweep the forests. Without this system of natural buttresses the tree would not be able to stand. It would cost an immense amount of labor to fell the tree at its base. Therefore, after making a rude scaffolding, the stem is cut where all those taperings join

gypsum; or a certain smooth stone which served for polishing."—Since the native terms for substances of the kind are still in use, it will not be difficult for our Mexican colleagues to ascertain which special white stone was meant by *xicaltell*, and how Molina's assertion that it served for coating as well as for polishing purposes must be understood.

¹ *Brasseur de Bourbourg*, in his edition of Diego de Landa's "Relation des choses de Yucatan," Paris, 1864, page 44, Note, draws the attention of the reader to the fact that a specimen of this amatl-paper is still preserved. He says: "c'est une sorte de papyrus, préparé avec grand soin, en tout semblable à celui de la *Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris?) et recouvert d'un enduit analogue à celui de nos cartes de visites."

² *Diego de Landa by Br. de Bourbourg*, ib page 44 (§VII.) "que escribían sus libros en una hoja larga doblada con pliegues, que se venía a cerrar toda entre dos tablas que hacían muy galanas, y que escribían de una parte y de otra a columnas, según eran los pliegues, y que este papel hacían de raíces de un árbol, y que le daban un lustre blanco en que se podía bien escribir A later Yucatecan author. "Cogolludo, Hist. de Yucatan" (Madrid, 1608) Lib. IV. cap. V. page 185: "They had books in Yucatan made from the bark of trees and a white and lasting resinous substance (betun)," etc., etc.

to form the single trunk, which is often at the height of five to seven yards. After the lapse of a year the bark of those natural buttresses begins to dry and come off. It then needs only a little practice to peel off long pieces, which, when soaked and beaten, yield a membranous tissue, of which to this day, the poor savage Indians make use for a covering. In common Spanish parlance this lower portion of the trunk is simply called "*la raíz del palo*," or the *root of the tree*, and therefore it may be accepted fairly that Landa by speaking of "paper made from the roots of a tree," had in mind the described portion of the amatl-tree.

These two passages, taken from P. Martyr and Diego de Landa, are the only ones which we were able to find containing information on this kind of bark-paper. Since both seem to describe, however, only that special paper which was found to be in use with the Maya people, who lived on the Eastern Coast of Mexico, and no allusion is made to their acquaintance with any other mode of manufacturing, one may well ask, whether this process was traditional and peculiar only to the Mayas, and whether it was also a fact that they had no other material at hand for changing or improving the method? We cannot give an answer to this question; yet it is forced upon us, when we consider, that the immediate neighbors of the Maya, the Nahoas-speaking races, on the high plateaus of Anahuac, were found to manufacture paper in a widely differing way. They were said to have beaten the vegetable fibre of the maguey plant to a pulp, and to have extended the same in the form of a sheet. The Mayas occupied a zone of vegetation in which the amatl tree has its home, whilst the Nahoas had settled on the *mesas* of the Cordillera, where the tree does not exist.

Let us now consider the manufacture of paper as found among the Nahoas-Mexicans. The vegetable fibre, of which we spoke, was taken from the Maguey plant, a product of the colder, because higher, mountainous regions of Central America. The varieties of this Maguey plant are numerous. Modern botanists have taken care to discriminate in describing them. The reader may be pleased to learn what an accomplished Spanish scholar, Dr. Hernandez,¹ when writing on the medical use made in those countries of the various varieties of the

¹ *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus seu Plantarum, Animalium, Mineralium, Mexicanarum Historia ex Francisci Fernandez Novi Orbis Medici Primarj relationibus in ipsa Mexicana Urbe conscriptis a Nardo Antonio Reccho. Collecta et in ordinem digesta a Joanne Terentio Lynceo, Romae, 1651, pag. 270: Metl plantae, quam Mexicanensi Maguei appellant . . . Tota enim illa, lignorum sepiendorumque; agrorum usum praestet. Caules lignorum, folia vero tecta tegendi, imbricum, lancium? (sic) papyri filique, ex quo calcei, lintea . . . On the margin stands the following abstract from the introductory text: Differentia, forma, cultus, fractus, sepis, ligna, imbrica, filii, vestes, clavi, acus, succus, mel, saccharum, vinum, acetum, vires, restes, cibus.*

Maguey plant, said of the usefulness of that plant. We give only an abstract of it: "It furnished the people with fire and fence wood, with gutters, tiles and thatching material, with *paper*, and fibres from which shoes and cloth are made; they gather nails and needles from it, as well as fruits, wine, honey, sugar and vinegar. It is full of remedies against many diseases." Thus we have a learned authority for the fact that the natives actually worked up the Maguey in their preparation of paper. Which of the many varieties, however, was employed for the purpose, the Doctor does not state; nor are we able to say whether or not any information about it was left at all. If not, we feel tempted to make a suggestion. We find among eighteen varieties of Maguey or metl enumerated by the Doctor, one which is called by the natives *metl-coztili*. The name reminds us of that of the town of *Amacoztilla* (see above). Should a town or district of this name still be in existence, and a sort of Maguey there be cultivated, and the name *metl-coztili* still be in use, this circumstance might lead to the solution of the question, which of the many Maguey varieties the Mexicans selected for their purpose.

Among other early writers, who speak of paper, is Gomara,¹ the secretary of Hernan Cortez. He says: "of this metl, paper is made, which is used at their sacrifices and by the painters, and is found in every part of the country." None of the early chroniclers, however (at least none of those we had access to), have presented us with a description of how the paper itself was manufactured. It is only in the year 1746, that the Cavaliere Boturini,² a collector of Mexican relics informs us (yet from sources which he has omitted to quote), on the subject. "Indian paper was made from the leaves of the Maguey, which in the language of the natives was called *metl*, and in Spanish *pita*. The leaves were soaked, putrified and the fibres washed, smoothed and extended for the manufacture of thin as well as thick paper. After having been polished, they painted upon them. They also knew how to make paper from palm leaves, and I have in my possession a few samples of this sort, which are as smooth as silk." He is followed, in

¹ Gomara (Lopez de) *Historia de Mexico* etc. Anvers, 1554, page 344 sq. Del arbol Metl. Metl es un arbol, que unos llaman Maguey y otros cardon (thistle). Crece de altura mas de dos estados (man's height) y en gordor quanto un muslo de hombre. Es mas ancho debajo que de arriba, como cipres De la hoja deste metl hacen papel que corre por todas partes para sacrificios y pintores.

² Cavaliere Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci: *Idea de una nueva Historia general, y Catalogo del Museo Historico*: Madrid, 1746. Page 95. El papel Indiano se componia de las pencas del Maguëy, que en lengua natural se llama *Metl*, y en Castellana *Pita*. Las echaban a podrir, y lavaban el hilo de ellas, el que habiendose ablandado, estendian para componer su papel grueso ó delgado, que despues bruñian para pintar en el. Tambien hacian papel de las hojas de Palma, y Yo tengo algunos de estos delgados y blandos tanto como seda.

1780, by Lorenzana,¹ in a paragraph entitled: "Paper on which they wrote," he says: "Paper was made from the leaves of the Maguel, which in Spanish is called Pita. The leaves of this plant were first soaked in water in order to putrify them. They then washed the fibres, smoothed them, and extended them for the manufacture of their coarse paper, which then was polished in order to paint on it. They also had a fine sort of paper, made of palms, and white like silk, which I have seen; the leaves of the palms were gathered, ground, beaten and then polished." It will be noticed that when Lorenzana wrote these lines he was influenced by reading Bourini's text; and of both writers it may be stated with certainty, that neither of them ever saw the manufacture of paper. At their epoch, native art and industry had been buried for more than a century by the protective system, introduced in favor of Peninsula merchandise. Therefore, whatever was still known of the ancient industrial methods and devices, had only the character of dim tradition, and the distinction which our authors were able to make between coarse and fine native paper, draws its origin only from the opportunity they still had to handle and inspect many precious relics of the lost industry. Had Lorenzana been acquainted with the name of the palm tree, the leaves of which he says were employed for preparing the finer sort of "silk paper," he would have given it, as he did that of the "*pencas del Maguey*."

We have seen how little information can be drawn from the writings of the chroniclers. There is, however, one way left by which we may satisfy our curiosity to a certain degree. We may let the specimens of paper still in existence tell their own story. The difficulty only lies in their being scattered all over the world, and that those who own them would not wish to offer them for examination, for fear the precious relics might be damaged and thereby diminished in value. In this respect we have been more fortunate than we fear others will be. The Geographical Society of New York is in possession of an ancient Mexican painting, with the examination of which we were sometime ago intrusted. The result was, that it did not represent, as was expected, a topographical map of ancient Mexico—*Tenuchtitlan*, but the plan of a little village, a portion of which area the Spaniards had taken from the Indians illegally. The latter wished to show by the painting how much they were originally entitled to. The plan also bore a text, written in the Nahuatl language with antique Spanish letters, from which we could be satisfied as to the minor details of the complaint. It shows no year's date, yet from the fact that the Holy Office of

¹ Lorenzana (D^{no} Franc^o Antonio de) Hist. d. l. N. España escrita por su esclarecido conquistador, Mexico, 1770, page 8: Papel, en que escribían. Metl, se hacía de las pencas de el Maguel o Pita, que llaman en España: las echaban a podrir en Agua, lababan el hilo de ellas ablandando le estendían para componer su papel grueso, que despues bruñían, para pintar en él.—Papel de Palma blando, y blanco como de seda, que le hé visto; cojian las ojas de Palma, las molían y batían y bruñían.

the Inquisition is mentioned in the text, we may trace the origin of this specimen of paper back to about the epoch of 1572, a date at which the Indians still were accustomed to prepare their own paper. Upon examining the specimen, we noticed—1) that the average thickness of the sheet did not exceed two mill. ^{mm}; 2) that the painted surface exhibited a yellowish tint, and the opposite surface a grayish hue, both surfaces however appearing to be polished; 3) the edges had the appearance of coarse cloth, when torn lengthwise; 4) it was noticed that one of the corners of the sheet had split open, so that when trying to widen the split in the same direction, the final result would have been to hold two thin sheets in one's hand; 5) when held against the light, the substance appeared cloudy, a few darker spots showing still the remnants of original fibres, and one which was still more dark, indicated a thickly matted mass of the same; 6) almost throughout the whole surface of the inner sides, it appeared to have been worked upon by something like a comb; but as the lines thus produced appeared to be lying within the borders of a parallelogram, one might guess that they had been produced by an instrument made for the express purpose of exerting an equal pressure upon the sheet in preparation; 7) A small specimen of the paper, when submitted to the examination of N. E. Waller, N. Y. Columbia School of Mines, gave the following results: "The substance does not contain any cotton fibres when seen under the microscope, but consists of fibres still surrounded with a thin *membrane* more or less torn and thrown into corrugated folds in some places. A very slight trace of gum appeared when this substance was boiled with water, and the solution tested with basic acetate of lead."¹

Another specimen of paper has been examined by Dr. E. Förstemann, the Superintendent of the Royal Library of Dresden, who at our request to furnish us with as exact information as possible in regard to the substance of which the paper of the so-called Dresden Codex is composed, was so kind as to answer on November 10th, and December 20th, 1880: "I suppose, you have been already informed through the press of the publication I made of the Dresden Codex, a most valuable document of ancient Yucatecan art and industry. The reprint has been issued by the Heliotypic Institute of Naumann in Leipzig, in however only fifty copies. In the preface, which I wrote to the reprint, you will find most of the questions you asked me answered, respecting the material, size and color of the painted sheets. Yet I most willingly hasten to condense my answer in the following terms—The size of the sheets is, 0.205 metres in length, and 0.085 metres in width. The

¹ In expressing our gratitude to the Society for having allowed us to examine a small specimen of this ancient paper, and our thanks also to the gentleman who was so kind as to test it by scientific method, we only wish that equal favor might be conferred upon all those students who should ask for the same in the interest of closer research.

ground color is throughout white, some reddish spots cropping out on the surface of the sheets, here and there. The white color originates from a coating of gypsum or lime and therefore is somewhat rough to the touch. According to tradition the material of the paper was taken from the metl-plant, and so indeed it appears to be upon examining the edges and angles of the various sheets, where the interior through use and handling was laid open to the eye. The meshed fibres are too fine and too white to come from the bark of a tree, and do not show its natural matting. It appears, finally, that the substance of the sheets was held or fastened together by thin *membranes*; whether or not they are animal membranes, I am unable to say. It is, however, not discernible that any of the 74 sheets, of which the Codex is composed, consists of two separate strata. You will appreciate the reason why I am prevented from sending a sample of the material, were it only a small one, and intended for chemical analysis."¹

These statements of Dr. Förstemann unveil a highly interesting fact, which when examining the chart preserved by the Geographical Society, had escaped our attention. For, if we are not mistaken in the tenor of his text, our learned friend noticed that each sheet consisted of a worked-up layer of Maguey fibres, both sides of which were covered with a thin *membrane*. Traces of these membranes were also observed in Dr. Waller's microscopical inspection. Some resinous substance then (see above) must have served as paste, and strong pressure exerted upon the prepared sheet made it appear as if both surfaces were of the substance of the dressing itself. It is only through the discovery of this membranous surface that the explanation is obtained, how these people succeeded in drawing and painting so

¹ When this article was preparing for press, we received a note written by Prof. Dr. Fr. Müller of the Royal Imperial Library, Vienna, in which he kindly answers a question we asked regarding the material of which the sheets of the so called Mexican Vienna Codex were manufactured. The note runs thus:—"Vienna, 12th January, 1881. Dear Sir: Immediately after the receipt of your last of Dec. 27, 1880, I had the Codex brought from the R. I. Library to my office. It stands registered in the catalogue under 'Mexican Codex on vellum.' In order to avoid any mistake, I engaged two friends of mine, who are zoölogists, to examine the substance of the sheets, and found the statement of the catalogue confirmed. The vellum is of deerskin, perhaps *Cervus Californ's*, and is prepared in a most peculiar way. I don't know whether this brief notice will be of any avail for your article. The Codex, however, shall be further examined, and with a special view to its technique of painting. Should then anything come to light, that would be of interest to you, I shall not fail of imparting it.

Truly yours, FR. MÜLLER, III. Marxergasse, 27, a."

The notice is, indeed, of value. If it does not prove what skin, it suggests the animal at least from which the *membrane* spoken of by Drs. Waller and Förstemann was probably taken. There is no animal in Central America except the deer, that furnishes so large a *membrane* as would be required to cover the surface of the sheets of paper referred to.

neatly as they did. For on examining the body of the fibrous substance, its coarseness afforded the fullest evidence that these fibres had not undergone such final process of maceration as is necessary to form the fine and silny film, which after drying leaves an even surface to paint upon. Therefore, it was a *membrane* which furnished the painter with an even surface; the Magney fibres formed only the body of the sheet.

There are many more questions to be answered, which stand in close connection with our subject. We are compelled to leave them open until we obtain the required data for undertaking their discussion.

Our subject is not "Mexican Paper" alone. We must view it also in the light of an article of tribute.

In order to better understand the way in which this business of collecting tribute was carried on, we cannot help adding a few preliminary remarks on the basis underlying early Mexican and Central American society. In plain words, this basis was Communism. Not, however, a theoretical or speculative communism, but a system of natural growth, and historical development. Our modern family, we may say, lives also more or less on the communistic plan. Yet each of its descendants, when come of age, is understood to make the effort of forming a new family, the head of which should work for its subsistence independently of parental aid. Not so with the Indians. The soil upon which the first family had settled, would be the common property of all after generations. No division of soil or property took place; inheritances, testaments, legacies were notions unknown to them. The soil was tilled in common and its fruit divided in common. They considered themselves to be and to remain one single family, and even after having increased to the respectable size of a gens, and later on coming in contact with foreign gentes, to that of a tribe, they would act under the direction of the same principle. In order to watch and administer the complicated interests of this communistic kinship, a council of elders was elected, and for urgent cases this council was empowered to elect a chieftain, responsible to them and to the whole community.¹ The most frequent of such cases was war. War, on the victor's side meant receiving, on

¹ This conception of ancient Mexican society, will not astonish those who read Mr. Ad. F. Bandelier's recent publications on the subject, and take care to examine the premises by which this gentleman was brought to so surprising a conclusion. He has expounded his theory in three successive articles, which were published in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth Reports of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, 1877, 1878 and 1879, under the titles: 1) "Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans." 2) "The Distribution and Tenure of Lands, and the Customs with respect to Inheritance." 3) "Social Organization and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans." The author comes to the acceptable results that Ancient Mexico was neither an Empire, nor a feudal Monarchy, nor ruled by a despotical power. "The Aztec tribe was organized after the principles of a barbarous, but free military democracy. The notion of abstract owner-

that of the vanquished paying tribute. In an organization, as described, in which every member considered itself connected to the others by the ties of blood, a comparatively small reverse or loss must necessarily have caused greater terror and more rapid defeat, than under similar circumstances to a military body in which the members were more or less strangers to each other; and if it was the chieftain who was captured or slain, the panic grew to such an intensity, that the forces felt paralyzed, desisted from fighting and surrendered. Now, respecting the Mexicans, we are circumstantially informed,¹ that they were neither agriculturists nor manufacturers. They drew their subsistence from systematic depredatory raids made upon their neighbors, and avoiding killing in battle as much as possible. In their engagements with the enemy, all they aimed at was to make captives.² Regarding these unhappy creatures, it is generally

ship of the soil, either by the nation, or state, or by the head of its government, was unknown to them. Definite possessory right was vested in the kinships composing the tribe, and conquest was not followed by the annexation of a tribe's territory, but by the exaction of a tribute, for the purpose of which special tracts were set off. Each of the twenty Mexican kins was governed by strictly elected officers, subject to removal. The kins delegated their power to transact business with outsiders to a general council which represented the Aztec tribe as a whole. The dignity of chief, commonly transformed into that of an emperor, was not hereditary, but a reward of merit." These are some of the main results aimed at by Mr. Bandelier in the research he made on ancient Mexican Society. It will readily be noticed that they stand in direct opposition to all which his predecessors had been teaching on this subject. We congratulate him sincerely upon his bold achievement. Not so much, however, because we think to have found in Mr. Bandelier a welcome confederate in our warfare against the extraordinary theories indulged in by the late Brasseur de Bourbourg, to whom he is an equal in enthusiasm, in vast reading and in constructive power, but because he has known how to master his emotional and intellectual agencies, and, in battling the most complex and contradictory historical material, has succeeded in arranging it in an array of lucid premises, which of themselves lead to a series of common-sense conclusions. The foot-notes he has given are indeed of an extension which appears uncommon. They occupy a space five times larger than the text. Yet as their contents are not reasonings, but abstracts taken from the ancient Spanish authors, whose works are not at every student's disposal, and as the author wishes to settle, once and forever, a point important in ancient Mexican history, we think this copiousness of quotations is not only excusable but necessary. It shows the author's circumspection, and the honest interest he has to make his reader judge for himself, the particular reasons why he should be induced to abandon a long-cherished doctrine and adopt the new one, which the author recommends. It will be impossible for this writer to agree with Mr. Bandelier upon each and every point. But this does not hinder him from endorsing the healthful tendency that pervades the whole work, nor from admiring the author's industry and steadfast earnestness displayed in so laborious a research.

¹ *Ad. F. Bandelier*, *Art of War*, l. c. page 96 sq. 19.

² *Id.* page 138, in note 164.

supposed, that as soon as they were brought to the capital, they were immolated to the gods. This is as improbable in itself as it is inconsistent with what we know on this subject. The religious tenets of the Mexicans, indeed required human sacrifices, and numerous executions of this kind have taken place. But this sacrificing fell upon only a small minority of the prisoners. By far the larger portion of them became slaves; yet these slaves, at the same time that they had to do the vilest services, were considered to be most precious hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty of peace with that tribe to which they had belonged, and of its most important condition, which was to pay a stipulated tribute. Each neglect of payment, and each rebellion, of course, endangered the prisoners' life. Therefore, whilst on the one hand the strong feeling for their kins' safety made the tribe meet its obligations, the victor, on the other hand, kept also in his possession a valuable security for having the tribute punctually paid.

If after these preliminary remarks we now revert to our subject, we may imagine how busily all members of the tribe at home must have worked in order to have the tribute articles ready for the day appointed. Many a tear must have dropped upon those gorgeously embroidered quilts and blankets, the specimens of which we now see pictured on the pages of the Mendoza Codex; and from the women's little treasures many dear keepsakes have been handed over with sighs and sobs, in order to be molten and cast into such shapes as the cruel enemy had prescribed. Yet there was also one thought and sentiment that must have softened their grief. The treasure they parted with, besides securing their own life, was destined to secure also that of the absent father or brother, while the making up of the exacted tribute performed in common, must have contributed to lighten the burden. The elders organized and surveyed the labor. They also collected and registered the articles. Carriers (*tamenes*) lifted them in well secured packs upon their backs, and after fastening the former by two straps which on their forehead joined to a broad belt (*mecapal*), with the elders (*gueyues*) or speakers (*tlatoani*) at the front, they began the painful journey to the capital. But first, they had to wend their way towards the place in which the much feared Mexican *calpixque* (*calli*-house, *pixqui*-gatherer or custodian), the preliminary recipient of the tribute held his residence. He was usually an officer of high rank and heartily hated; for "besides his controlling position, he was also looked at as a spy, whose reports might at any time, bring down upon the pueblo the wrath of their conquerors, a living monument of the defeat with all its unfortunate results." If the place was very distant from the capital, the *calpixque* must have made appointments with other of his colleagues for a common place of rendezvous, and it must have afforded a picturesque spectacle to see this convoy in combined force moving through valleys and over hills and mountain passes toward the great City of the Lakes. Their arrival was sure to be welcomed with shouts

of joy and triumph, for each company of the carriers brought to the spectators the memory of a battle won, and more than all, each load under the weight of which they were aching, was destined to fill the empty store-house with new provisions for the year. The long list of articles received in the city on such an occasion, may be inspected in the Codex Mendoza.

It was, however, not the so-called Emperor of Mexico into whose treasure-house the tribute was delivered, and upon whose mercy and benevolence the distribution of the gifts depended. He had his share in them, and certainly a large one; but it was "the tribe, to which the tribute was due, and it was the tribal representatives to whom it was delivered. If the gathering of the tribute required a set of officers placed under the orders of the military chief, another set was needed for its preservation and judicious distribution. Every convoy was therefore consigned to a proper officer, the home steward. To him, the *pellacaltecatl*, or the man of the house of chests, the kins came for their share. Unfortunately we are unable to establish the principles upon which the division took place. All that we know is that the tribe received one portion and the kins or *calpulli* the other."¹ It is but natural to suppose, that if under these principles of distinction, one portion of the whole tribute, from the outset, was set aside to meet the general demands of tribal government, the remnant was divided into twenty shares, each of them to be received by the twenty *calpullis*, and that these again may have reserved one portion for the demands of their own special administration, and the remainder may have finally come to the possession of the individual or family homesteads.

Here is the place to consider the question how the above stated amount of paper-tribute was distributed among the members of that tribal community which resided in the City of Mexico—*Tenuchtitlan*. Though there is no special information, yet there are certain points of view, by which we may be guided in discussing and partly answering this query. First of all, it is judicious to assume that the amount of twenty-four thousand resmas, equivalent to four hundred and eighty thousand sheets, can hardly have been distributed *per capita*. This might be expected to have happened with the tribute of provisions and clothes, but not with the tribute of paper. Paper must have made an exception to the rule. It would have been a useless waste of the precious article to give each member of the *calpulli* a share of it, for the majority was not trained in the art of painting. This art was in possession of those only who were educated for the purpose. But if so, how can it be explained, that this guild of artists, the members of which must have been few in number, should have been able to consume for their special work the enormous amount of four hundred and eighty thousand sheets of paper? We are fully informed for what

¹For this and the foregoing verbal quotations see *Bandelier*, "Social Organization and Mode of Government," l. c. page 694, sqy.

different purposes paper was employed by these painters. They had to record the historical annals of the year, provide the priests with copies of the ritual calendar, register tributes, and in case of litigation on the limits of rural estates, to draft the map for the parties and the judge. The lack of a phonetic alphabet and writing had not yet allowed these people to indulge in the luxury of a voluminous literature. Their imperfect system of representing an event or an idea by means of objects or symbols, confined them to the recording of only the most important data of civic and religious administration. In this the reports of the Spanish chroniclers unanimously concur; and the paintings also which are left to us, confirm the impression that the records and therefore the use which the painters made of paper, was almost exclusively confined to the four above stated purposes of administration. It would be hazardous to average the number of sheets of paper used for these official purposes. However, we may safely advance, that only a minimum of the four hundred and eighty thousand sheets can have been consumed in this wise.

What disposition was made of the considerable remainder, we are, of course, unable to state in detail. But if, under certain conditions, one is allowed to make an inference from known facts, let us make use of this *modus colligendi*. There is a circumstantial report existing, made by one of the most reliable Spanish chroniclers respecting the religious festivities, which in Mexico were held at the beginning of each month. We shall give an abstract of this description, for on every occasion *paper* is stated to have been employed for dressing up the temples, idols, victims, priests and the whole concourse of performers themselves. The report, indeed, concerns only the monthly festivals, as being those of higher note. But the Mexican ritual calendar had this in common with the Oriental one, that every day was, so to speak, sanctified, having its special patron, before whose shrine it was the priest's duty to offer sacrifice by burning *balls of copal, hule and amatl* (resin, rubber and paper). If we now consider that the *copantl* (wall of serpents, which formed the large enclosure in the midst of which arose the structure of the famous pyramid), was studded with seventy-eight such shrines and oratories, each of which was to be attended *daily*, we may form an idea of the enormous quantity of paper that was consumed in the special department of worship alone.

Here are the suggestive data as furnished by Father Sahagun.¹ "In the first month, *Atlacalo*, and on the occasion of its festival in all houses and palaces large poles were raised, at the top of which some strips of *paper* were fastened, sprinkled with drops of *ulli* (hule or rubber substance), and these papers were called *amateuiltl* . . . The children to be sacrificed were dressed and adorned with *paper* of a red color . . . On another hill they dressed the children in *paper* showing

¹ *Sahagun* (*Bernardino de*) Hist. Univers. de las cosas de la N. España, Lib. I., Cap. 20, Tom. I., page 83, Ed. Bustamante.

alternately black and red stripes . . . On another hill the children were arrayed in *paper* of a blue color . . . On another in *dresses of paper* striped in black with the oil of the ulli . . . On another the *dresses* of the children were half red and half yellow . . . On the seventh hill, the whole *dresses* of the children were of yellow color, and on the shoulders they fastened a pair of wings, also of *paper*, so that they looked like angels. In the third month, *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, . . . after all was done as described, the master of the slave who died, placed in the yard of his house a round globe made of *petate* (mats), resting on three feet, and laid upon the top of the globe all the *paper* which the slave who died had been arrayed with. He then went out to look for some brave youth, to dress him with that very same *paper*, and gave him in one hand a shield and in the other a cane. . . . He then took the thigh bone of the captured slave, whose flesh he had eaten, and dressed the bone up with *paper* and hung it up by a rope on the same pole.—The fourth month, *Tetlocotzli*, was devoted to the goddess Chilomecoatl. Every one had her image in his house, which was adorned with *paper*, and they placed food before her shrine . . . and sprinkled the ears of the maize with oil of ulli, and wrapped them up in *paper*.—In the fifth month, *Toxatl*, the festival of the god Tetzcatlilpoca . . . young girls preceded bearing canes with *paper tassels* at the top, called *teteluiltl*, the paper was of different colors. Those who were rich did not ornament them with paper, but with woven ribbons, called *canaoc* . . . cages, to the sticks of which little banners of *paper* were attached . . . The noblemen wore *rosettes* made of *paper* on their foreheads . . . little *aprons of paper*, *amasmaztli*.—The sixth month, *Etzalqualiztli*, all carried on their backs bags fastened with cotton strings; some had fringes with cotton strings at the ends, and others striped colored *paper*. At the same time they pinned a large *rosette of paper* on the back of their necks, and on either side two smaller ones that made them look like two ears sticking out¹ . . . When they arrived at the bank of the lagoon, in which they desired to drown it (the child) *paper* was burned, as a sacrifice . . . During those four

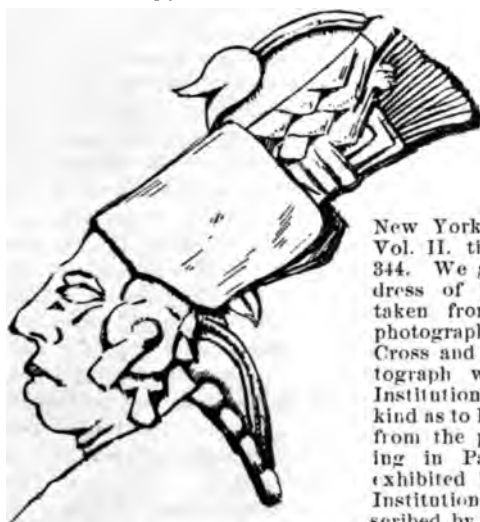
CUT 14.

¹ These passages give an interpretation of the true nature of those peculiar head-dresses, which are noticed on so many statues and statuettes found in Mexico and Central America. Two specimens of them are in possession of the Historical Society of New York and are exhibited in the upper tier of the Egyptian gallery. They were brought from Copan (Honduras). Another very fine specimen is in the National Museum of the city of Mexico, of which we give a copy, taken from Brantz Mayer's "Mexico as it was and is." New York and London: 1844, page 102. (Cut 14).



days, their inspectors prepared all the ornaments of paper required for the dresses of the priests as well as for themselves. Those ornaments were called *tlaquech paniotl*, which means neck-ornaments, the other rosettes, *amacuexpalli*; the bag in which the incense was carried, and which was purchased in the market, was also of paper. However the bags carried by the chiefs of rank were not of paper but of tiger-skin, the coloring of the paper bags of the poor being an imitation of the same . . . The high priest of the god Tlaloc wore on his head a crown, in the form of a basket, tight around his temples, and broader at the top, with many plumes hanging out.¹ He had his face besmeared with melted *ulli*, black like ink, and wore a jacket of shirting, called *aiatl*. The face, moreover, was covered by an ugly mask with a long nose, and his hair hung down to the girdle . . . they took all the offerings made of paper, the plumes, jewels and *chalchihuites* and carried them to the lagoon . . . they fastened the paper called *tetehtl* at the top of a tall pole erected there . . . and threw into the censer four of those *tetehtl*-papers, and made a gesture as if sacrificing, when the paper began to burn . . . The festival of the seventh month, *Tecuilhuitontli*, was devoted to the goddess of Salt . . . the image made of her showed that she bore on her head a kind of club, all studded over with paper strips, which were sprinkled with *ulli*, and with rosettes filled with incense. The eighth month, *Veytecuiluitl* . . . the woman, destined to be sacrificed in honor of the goddess *Xilonen*, had her face painted with two different colors. From her nose downward it was of

CUT 15.



¹ The basket-formed crown will be found represented on the two tablets of the rear walls in the oratories of Palenque, the Temple of the Sun, and the Temple of the Cross. See John L. Stephens' "Incidents of Travel," etc.

New York. Harper & Bros. 1841, Vol. II. title, engraving, and page 344. We give a cut of the head-dress of the priest (Cut 15), as taken from M. Deslre Charnay's photograph of the Temple of the Cross and completed from the photograph which the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, was so kind as to have made for the writer from the portion of the slab missing in Palenque, which is now exhibited in the Museum of the Institution, and was recently described by Charles Rau, in "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," Washington, 1879.

sonian Contributions to Knowledge," Washington, 1879.

yellow, and upwards to the forehead of red color, her head being adorned with a *paper crown* of four points. No mention is made that paper was used in the ninth month. In the tenth, *Xocoluetzi*, the statue of a man was prepared, which was made entirely of seeds of *bledo*. They robed it in *white paper*, no colors being allowed. They put a wig on its head, worked up from *fine strips of paper* and the body was dressed in a kind of *stola* of the *same material*, this *stola* falling from the left shoulder to above the right hip and *vice-versa*. Its arms were covered with sleeves of *corrugated paper* painted all over with images of birds, and its *apron (maxtli)* was also of *paper*. A pole was erected at each side of the statue, at the top of which something like a white shirt was floating, whilst the pole itself was hung all over with large *ribbons made of paper*, one half an arm's length broad, and ten arms long . . . The prisoners were painted all over their bodies with white color, the *apron* being of *paper*, and the *stola* of *paper* being arranged in the manner stated. Their *wigs* were also like that of the statue. The eleventh month, *Ochpanitzli* . . . They walked at the head of the procession, with their *maxtlis* of *corrugated paper*, and their shoulders studded with *rosettes of paper* as large as shields . . . each of them carried on their backs seven ears of maize, striped with liquified *ulli*. They were first wrapped in *white paper* and then in a richly embroidered cloth . . . The thirteenth month, *Tepeilhuitl* . . . and they covered them with *paper* of the kind they called *teteuiltl* . . . they wore *crowns of paper*, and *all the paper* in which they were dressed was sprinkled with liquified *ulli*. The fourteenth month, *Quecholli* . . . they took a stalk of the maize plant, which had nine knots, and fastened at its top a *paper* of the form of a banner, adorned with paper ribbons hanging down . . . the unfortunate victims were also dressed in their *robes of paper* . . . each of them bore in his hand a *paper banner* . . . The fifteenth month, *Pinquetzalitzli* . . . they tore the wet robes off from the bodies of the slaves, dressing them with *those of paper* in which they were to sleep . . . one of the priests then stepped down from the *cue*, or hill of sacrifices, who carried in his hand a *large bundle of the papers*, called *teteppohualli* or *teteuiltl* . . . and another priest carried a kind of censer, *xih cohuall*, the top and end of which had the form of the head and tail of a serpent, the *tail being made of paper* two or three arms long. The fifteenth month, *Atemuztli* . . . One week before the beginning they *bought paper*, *ulli*, cloth and knives, and spent the nights in *cutting paper*, giving it that form which was called *teteuiltl* . . . and after being killed they tore from the body the *paper* in which they were dressed, and burnt it all in the yard of the same house . . . The seventeenth month, *Tliltl* . . . the goddess *Illamatecutli*, who wore a *crown of paper*, in the shape of a mural crown . . . The eighteenth month, *Izcaltli* . . . at the break of dawn they dressed the victims in their *paper gowns* . . . the dancers had their heads

adorned with a *crown of paper*, which looked like the half of a *mitra*.¹

These quotations will suffice to illustrate what we wished to prove.

We have come to the end of our article on ancient Mexican Paper. The abstract taken from Father Sahagun's report is full of data, showing for what other purposes than those of mere recording, paper was used among the people. Proof is given that a considerable use, nay waste of this material was made for the purposes of dress and all the finery with which these people were wont to make their appearance at their peculiar religious performances and ceremonies. However, we were also informed that paper was exposed for sale in the public markets. This circumstance is of no little weight in our attempt to answer the question: What may have become of the large remainder of the tribute. For we may fairly presume that if the purchase of paper was made accessible to all those who had means enough to buy it, a good deal of it would have found its way into the household of the families, and there not only have been cut up for the dress of the women, but also for that of the men. Whether or not this is mere conjecture, or substantiated by proof, the reader may decide after an inspection of the Mendoza Codex, in which the characters are represented as dressed, not for church ceremonies, but in their civic and gala costume.

¹ Torquemada (Juan de) in *Monarquia Indiana*, Lib. X. and XI., treats the same subject of the monthly festivals, and follows almost entirely his predecessor Sahagun, only that he cuts down his text. Torquemada, however, on various occasions has striven to increase it with new data, of which we quote the following: Lib. X. Cap. 29 on the festival of *Xiuhteuctli*, the god of Fire, they fastened to the shoulders of the masked men some papers folded like wings, in which were employed more than *four hundred sheets of paper*. See also Lib. XIII, Cap. 47, in which mention is made of *pasports of paper*, covered with cabalistic symbols, which were put in the hands of the dead, in order that they might pass safely "through the gates of the two moving rocks, by the huge serpent, the crocodile, over the plains of cold and the large hill, and the region where the wind is more cutting than knives."

NOTES

ON THE

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF YUCATAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA.¹

 BY AD. F. BANDELIER.

YUCATAN.

Writers of the Sixteenth Century.

JUAN DIAZ, chaplain to Juan de Grijalva. "Itinerario de l' Armata del Re Catholico in India verso la Isola de Iuchathan del anno M. D. XVIII."—Printed first (in the Italian language) as an appendix to the "Itinerario de Ludovico Varthema," in the edition of 1520, and subsequently in the editions of 1522, 1526 and 1535 of the latter book. It was also translated into the English language by Richard Eden, in the "Historie of Travayles," London, 1577, but I am not sure whether the report of Diaz is contained in it. The most popular translation is that by H. Ternaux-Compans, in his first "Recueil de pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique," (Vol. X. of his "Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique,") and the latest and best reprint, together with a splendid Spanish translation, is contained in Vol. I. of "Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México," 1858, by Sr J. G. Icazbalceta, of México.

PETRUS MARTYR AB ANGLERIA. "Enchiridion de Insulis nuper reperi-tis simulatque Incolarum moribus," Basel, 1521. (Separate print of the 4th Decade, which contains the first items about Yucatan ever published in Europe after Diaz's report).

"De orbe novo decades Petri Martyris ab Angleria, Mediolanensis, protonotarii, Cesarei senatoris.—Compluti apud Michaellem de Eguia," in December, 1530. Alcalá.

"Opus Epistolaram Petri Martyris Anglerii, Mediolanensis, &c., &c." Also printed by Miguel de Eguia. Alcalá.

Of further reprints, and of translations of Peter Martyr's works (the reports on Yucatan are contained in the 4th and 5th Decades), I merely quote: "Novus orbis regionum ac Insularum veteribus incognitarum, &c." by Simon Gryneus, Basel, 1532, embodying Dec's 1, 2, 3, and 4.

¹The absence of Mr. Bandelier in Mexico, precludes a submission of the proof to his revision, and will account for any errors that may be discovered in the text.

(Also the edition of 1536.)—A French translation of the 4th Decade, by Simon de Collines, Paris, 1532.—A German version, by Höniger of Königshofen.—Hackluyt's reprint of 1587. "De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii, &c., &c.," and finally the complete English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden: "De novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies, &c., &c.," London, 1612. I need not dwell on the great importance of Martyr's book, for Yucatan.

HERNAN CORTÉS. (His first letter is lost: in place of it the letter of the "Municipality of Vera Cruz," dated 10th July, 1519, contains a short statement about Yucatan. This letter is printed in Vol. I. of "Colección de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España," and in Vol. I. of "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Enrique de Vedia, Madrid, 1852.—Folsom's translation of 1843. "Despatches of Hernan Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, &c." substitutes an Introduction by the translator himself.—The earliest mention of this report is found in Robertson: "History of America," Vol. III., p. 289, Edition of 1800, and an abstract is found in Prescott: "Conquest of Mexico," Appendix II., 3d Vol.) "Fifth letter to the Emperor Charles VII.," noticed by Robertson and Prescott; contained, in full, in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vol. I., by Vedia. A full English translation, by Pascual de Gayangos, was published in 1868, by the "Hackluyt Society," vol. 40.

JUAN CRISTÓBAL CALVET DE ESTRELLA. "De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortésii," written between 1548 and 1560, and printed with a Spanish translation: "Vida de Cortés," by Sr. Icazbalceta in Vol. I. of "Col. de Documentos para la Hist. de México."—Short and meagre.

ANDRÉS DE TAPIA. "Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tapia, sobre la conquista de México." (Icazbalceta's "Colección de Documentos, &c." Vol. II. México, 1866.)

BENEDETTO BORDONE. "Libro di Benedetto Bordone.—Nel qual si raglione tutte l'Isole del mondo con li loro nomi antichi e moderni," 1528.—Later editions also.

GIROLAMO BENZONI. "Historia del Mondo Nuovo," Venice, 1565.—Translated into German by Nicolaus Hoeniger: "Die Neue Welt und Indianischen Königreichs, neue und wahrhafte geschichte, &c., &c.," Basel, 1579.—Incorporated in Théodore De Bry "Grosse Reisen," Parts 4, 5, and 6.—Of other prints I but mention the latest English translation, published by the Hackluyt Society in 1857 (Vol. 21), under the title of "History of the New World, by Girolamo Benzoni," edited as well as translated by Rear-Admiral W. H. Smyth. There are Italian versions of 1572, French of 1587, and Latin of 1600.

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España," Madrid, 1632. (There may be two editions of the same

year[?]). Of the Spanish reprints I mention here (also contained in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," Vedia, 1852, Vol. II.), the one of 1837, Paris, 4 Vols. 12°, and the other of 1854, México, 4 vols. also.—Two English translations are known to me at present: "The True History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Captain Bernal Diez del Castillo," translated by Maurice Keatings, London, 1800.—"The Memoirs of the Conquistador, Bernal Diez del Castillo," translated by John Ingram Lockhart, London, 1844.—There is also a German translation, by P. J. Reh fuss, Bonn, 1838.—Bernal Diez (not Díaz) is very valuable as eye-witness, having been to Yucatan with Cordoba (1517), Grijalva (1518), Cortés (1519),—and finally with the latter to Honduras, passing through Peten.

FRAY LORENZO DE BIENVENIDA. Letter to the Infante Philip (II.), dated Yucatan, 10 February, 1548. Original in MS. French translation by H. Ternaux-Compans in "1^{er} Recueil de Pièces concernant le Mexique," Vol. X. 1838, of his collection of "Mémoires et documents Originaux, &c., &c."

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS. "Historia General y natural de las Indias," composed of 50 books.—The first 19 books, and part of the 50th, were published by the author as early as 1535,—and the first 20 books as early as 1557,—but the entire work has only been printed in 1851, at Madrid, 4 Vols. folio.—It is full of details concerning Yucatan.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. "Historia general de las Indias, y todo lo acaescido en ellas desde que se ganaron hasta agora. Y la conquista de México, y de la nueva España, &c." Zaragoza, 1552.—Of this book I quote—e. g.—the following Spanish editions: Medina del Campo, 1553. Antwerp, 2 prints, 1554—Zaragoza, 1555,—and it is also contained in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Andrés Gonzalez Barcia, Madrid, 1749, Vol. II.—and in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," by Vedia, Madrid, 1852, Vol. I.—There is an Italian version, by Augustino de Cravaliz, Rome, 1556, ("La Histoire generale delle Indie Occidentali, &c., &c."), and French translations published respectively in 1578, 1587, 1597, and 1605.—Finally, Juan Bautista de San Anton Muñoz Chimalpain Guauhlehuanitzin made a translation into the Mexican, or "Nahuatl" language, which C. M. Bustamante published at Mexico, in 1826.—I know of no English translation of the work.—It actually consists of two parts, the "Historia General," and the "Conquista de México."—The former contains a short, but fair, description of Yucatan, and the latter a report on Cortés' doings there and matters relating thereto.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. Of the numerous (over forty) writings of the Bishop of Chiapas, I select only "Historia de las Indias," published

"at last," Madrid, 1875 and 1876, by the Marquis de la Fuensanta del Valle and Don José Sancho Rayon, in 5 vols. The 5th Vol. contains the famous "Apologética Historia."—Another publication of the "Historia de las Indias," though not as complete, has appeared in Mexico in 2 vols., as the first series of Sr. J. M. Vigel's "Biblioteca Mexicana," 1877 and 1878.—It does not contain the "Apologética."—Fragments of the latter are found in Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico," Vol. VIII.

"Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias," Sevilla, 1552. Of this polemic and strongly tinged memoir there are innumerable versions.—I know of Spanish publications besides the above, and those of London, 1812,—Philadelphia, 1821,—both due to Dr. De Mier,—Madrid, J. A. Llorente, 1822, and México, 1822 —Latin translations; Francfort, 1598; Oppenheim, 1614; Heidelberg, 1664.—French translations: Antwerp, 1579; Amsterdam, 1620; Rouen, 1630; Lyon, 1642; Paris, 1697; Amsterdam, 1698. (The last two contain each five papers of Las Casas), and Paris, 1822. "Oeuvres de Don Bartolomé de las Casas," by J. A. Llorente.—Of Italian Translations (with Spanish text). I allude to those of 1626. Venice.—1630, Id.:—1643, Id., and also of 1645.—There is a German translation of 1599.—Dutch translations: Amsterdam, 1610 and 1621, and 1663.—I know of but one English translation, which bears the title "A Relation of the first voyages and discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, &c., &c." London, 1699,—although Dr. Robertson mentions one of 1693.—Las Casas must be used with great caution.

DIEGO DE LANDA. "Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan."

Bishop Landa was born in 1524, and died in 1579; his work must therefore have been written between 1549 and the latter date. It was published by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in 1860, with a French translation opposite to the Spanish text, and under the title of "Relation des choses de Yucatan."—Republished again in 1864, with some other matter.

The merits of Landa are certainly very great, but the real import of his so-called "A. B. C." ("De sus letras forme aqul un a. b. c." pp. 316—319), has been misunderstood and correspondingly misrepresented. The picture which Landa gives us of the customs and organization of the Mayas is completely at variance with some of his other statements. Much close attention is required.

"CARTAS DE INDIAS." Vol. I. Madrid, 1878.

These contain several letters and reports on Yucatan, from the 16th century. I only refer to one, a complaint of four Indian "gobernadores," dated 12 April, 1567, against the Bishop Diego de Landa, designating him as "principal author of all these evils and troubles . . ."

JOSEPH DE ACOSTA. "Historia natural y moral de Indias," Sevilla, 1590. I merely mention this author, without entering into further biblio-

graphical details about his work. It has been translated into many languages, and—in part or wholly—incorporated in many general collections of "Americana." He says but little about Yucatan, still his book is indispensable to any one studying Yucatecan antiquities. I also advert here to his former publication, which is but little known: "*De promulgatione Evangelij apud Barbaros, sive de procuranda Indorum salute.*" Libros 6; printed in 1589.

GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA. "*Historia eclesiástica Indiana.*" written about 1590, but printed for the first time, by Sr. J. G. Icañalceta, at Mexico, in 1870.—Contains much and valuable information.—Mendieta has been extensively copied by Torquemada.

FRAY TORIBIO DE PARISES, SURNAMED "MOTOLIXIA." "*Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España.*" written about 1540, but published in full only by Sr. Icañalceta in Vol. I. of "*Coleccion de Documentos, &c.*"—Mentions Yucatan incidentally.—A large part of the work had been printed before in the "*Documentos inéditos, &c.*" under the title of "*Ritos Antiguos, Sacrificios é Idolatrias de las Indias de la Nueva-España.*"—also in Vol. IX. of Lord Kingsborough.—A Latin version, under the title of "*De Moribus Indorum*" may have existed once.

Yucatan is, furthermore, mentioned in many works of a more general character, embodying information gathered mostly from the sources already referred to. I do not, therefore, enter into any lengthy bibliographical sketches of them.

PIDROX GREYNAEUS. "*Novus Orbis.*" 1582. Already noticed under **Petrus Martyr**.

PETRUS APIANUS. "*Cosmographia.*" 1539, 1545, 1561 (Dutch version), &c.

ABRAHAM ORTELIIUS. "*Theatrum orbis terrarum.*" 1571, 1588, &c.

THOMAS PORCACCIO. "*L'isole pio famose del Mondo.*" 1572, 1576, 1590, &c., &c.

G. MERCATOR. "*Atlas, six Cosmographical Meditations.*" Duisburg, 1594.

CONRAD LOEW. "*Meer oder See-Ansicht Buch.*" Cologne, 1598.

SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER. "*Cosmographie.*" 1575, &c.

ANDRÉ THEVET. "*Les singularites de la France antarctique, entre-nous & l'Inde, Amérique, et de plusieurs Terres et Isles decouvertes de nosse temps.*"—Paris, 1558; Antwerp, 1558; in Italian, at Venice, 1561.

I cannot further mention of the polemic works on the origin of the American Indians,—and now turn to some writers whose works are generally lost, or at least not accessible, although there is positive evidence of their former existence.

FRAY GERÓNIMO ROMÁN. "*Republica Indiana*"—certainly existed as late as 1600, or "*República de las Indias Occidentales.*"

FRAY ALONZO SOLANA. "Noticias Sagradas y profanas de las Antigüedades y Conversion de los Indios de Yucatan." (Written before 1600).

DON FRANCISCO MONTEJO. "Carta al Rey sobre la fundacion de la Villa de San Francisco de Campeche, y de la Ciudad de Mérida," 14 June, 1543. (Still at Sevilla, leg. 7. "Cartas de Indias").

In the above list I have not included any Grammar, Vocabulary, Sermonary, "Doctrina," &c., &c., for the use of the Indians of Yucatan, or written in the Maya language, of which several are known. In conclusion, I beg to add the Maya writing, entitled:

"SERIES OF KATUNES," published, with an English translation, by Mr. J. L. Stephens, in "Incidents of travels in Yucatan," and by Brasseur de Bourbourg, in "Rel. d. ch. de Y."

Writers of the Seventeenth Century.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA. "Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del mar Océano," Madrid, 1601, 1615, 4 vols. folio. There are two other editions in the original language: Madrid, 1726 and 1730, and Antwerp, 1728.

Of this most important book, several translations have appeared, embodying either the whole or only a part.—Thus a French translation of the "Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales," appeared at Amsterdam in 1622 twice, and a French translation of the 1st, 2d and 3d Decades, at Paris, 1671.—A Latin version of the "Descripcion" was also published in 1622, by Collin, at Amsterdam, and a very unreliable English rendering by John Stephens, in 6 vols. 8°, appeared at London in 1725. Herrera is one of the most important authorities on every subject of which he treats.

GREGORIO GARCIA. "Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo é Indias Occidentales." 1st Edition, 1606; Second Edition, Madrid, 1729, by Barcia.—A very important and valuable work.

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA. "Los veinte y uno Libros Rituales y monarchia Indiana, con el origen y guerras de los Indios occidentales." 1st Edition, Madrid, 1613; 2d Edition, Madrid, 1723. Barcia.

AUGUSTIN DE VETANCOURT. "Teatro Mexicano." México, 1698.—2d Edition, in "Biblioteca de la Iberia," México, 1870.—Treats of Yucatan incidentally, speaking of Cortés, &c.

The work consists properly of three books: the "Teatro," the "Crónica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de México," and the "Menologio franciscano."

ANTONIO DE REMESAL. "Historia general de las Indias Occidentales, y particular de la gobernacion de Chiapas y Guatemala."—This book has

also another title: "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de San Domingo.*"—Madrid, 1619 and 1620.—Treats of Yucatan also, following Las Casas generally. An important work.

BERNARDO LIZANA. (Lizama or Lizaba?) "*Devocionario de Nuestra Señora de Itzamal, Historia de Yucatan é de conquista Espiritual.*" 1663, according to the Abbé Brasseur and Leon y Pinelo.—E. G. Squier speaks of two works: one "*Historia de la Provincia de Yucatan, y su conquista Espiritual.*" Valladolid, 1683, and the other "*Historia de Nuestra Señora de Itzamal.*"—Whichever way may be right, there remains accessible as yet, but a fragment published in Spanish, with a French translation by the Abbé Brasseur in his "*Relation des choses de Yucatan.*" 1864. The fragment is entitled: "*Del principio y Fundacion destas cuyos omiles deste Itilo y Pueblo de Ytzmal*."—Lizana is of the highest importance and value, and it is much to be regretted that the entire book is of such difficult access.

DIEGO LOPEZ DE COGOLLUDO. "*Historia de Yucatan.*"—1st Edition, Madrid, 1688; 2d Edition, Mérida, 1842; 3d Edition, 1867.—Cogolludo has always been regarded as the historian of Yucatan "*par excellence.*" He is indeed indispensable for any study of Yucatan antiquities, but, like all other authors, he must never be implicitly followed. The closest criticism possible is absolutely required.

GU. GONZALEZ DÁVILA. "*Trento eclesiástico de la primitiva Iglesia de los Indios Occidentales.*" Madrid, 1649.

JUAN DIAZ DE LA CALLE. "*Memorial y Resúmen breve de Noticias de las Indias Occidentales.*" Madrid, 1654.

These constitute the most important sources on Yucatan written during the 17th century. Nearly all of them are of *special* value, and we would call particular attention to Cogolludo, Lizana, Torquemada, Herrera, and Remesal. Among such authors, who wrote upon the subject and whose writings are not now accessible, I name here:

PEDRO SANCHEZ AGUILAR. "*Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan, y Informe contra los Idólatras del Obispado de Yucatan, &c.*" 1639.

FRANCISCO CÁRDENAS. "*Relacion de la Conquista y Sucesos de Yucatan.*" 1639. (If existing, probably in Spain).

NICOLÁS LIZANAGA. "*Representacion al Rey pidiéndole la Conquista de Itzá y Lacandon, con unas Noticias y Mapa de dichas Tierras.*"

NICOLÁS DE VALENZUELA. An account of the expedition against the Lacandonos, written 1695, and comprising 402 pages.

I would further call attention to the land titles, such as Deeds, Grants, donations, &c., &c., in Yucatan, some of which go back to the

17th century. These contain occasional references to the Indian settlements, some of which are certainly of great value and importance.

Finally, I refer to some general works, treating of Yucatan:

SAMUEL PURCHAS. "His Pilgrimage, &c., &c." London, 1613, 1614 and 1617. (This forms the 5th volume of Purchas' great works).—The great work of Purchas, also known as "Hackluytus Posthumous," appeared in 1625, and treats also of Yucatan.

O. DAPPER. "Die unbekannte neue Welt, oder Beschreibung des Welt-theils Amerikas, &c." Amsterdam, 1673. This is in fact but a translation of the following:

ARIAS MONTANUS. "De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld: of Beschryving van America en t' Zuid Lande." Amsterdam, 1671.

MATHIAS QUAD. "Enchiridion Cosmographicum: Dass ist, Ein Handbüchlein, der gantzen Welt gelegenheit, &c." Cologne, 1604 and 1608.

JOANNES PETRUS MAFFEI. "... historiarum Indicarum libri XVI., &c." Antwerp, 1605—frequently reprinted and translated.

JACOBUS VIVERUS. (Van de Vijvere). "Handbook: of Cort begrijp der Caerten Ende Beschryvinghen van allen Landen des Werelds." Amsterdam, 1609. (This is the 2d edition of an anonymous atlas).

CORNELIUS WYTFLICT ET ANTHOINE MAGIN. "Histoire universelle des Indes occidentales et orientales." Douay, 1611.

GASPARD ENS. "West und Ost-Indischer Lustgart.:" Cologne, 1618.

AUBERTUS MIRAEUS. "De statu religionis christianae" Cologne, 1619.

ATHANASIVS INGA. "West-Indische Spiegel, &c." Amsterdam, 1624.

JOHANN PHILIPP ABELIN. (Gottfried). "Neue Welt und Americanische Historien." Frankfurt, a. m. 1655.

A. O. EXQUEMELIN. "De Amerikaensche Zee-Roovers." Amsterdam, 1678. (Innumerable translations, &c. &c).

EBERHARD WERNER HAPPEL. "Thesaurus Exoticorum." Hamburg, 1688. (Indifferent compilation).

I do not include in this hasty bibliographical list any linguistic works whatever,—or writings on the plants and medicinal herbs of Spanish-America. Purposely I omit also Antonio de Solis, whose history of the conquest of Mexico has a great literary, but hardly any scientific, value.

Writers of the Eighteenth Century.

JUAN DE VILLAGUTIERRE Y SOTOMAYOR. "Historia de la Conquista y Reducciones de los Itzaes y Lacandones en la América Septentrional." Madrid, 1701. The first part only, composed of 10 books,—the second part may not have been completed,—at least it has remained unknown till now. The work is of the highest importance, especially for that part of Yucatan which has since hardly been explored.

ABBATE FRANCESCO SAVERIO CLAVIGERO. S. J. "*Storia antica del Messico.*" Cesena, 1780, 1781. Spanish translations: London, 1826; México, 1844, id. 1853. English translation: London, 1787. German version: Leipzig, 1789. (The English copy by Sir Charles Cullen),—all these works mention Yucatan also.

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO. "*Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias Occidentales ó América.*" Madrid, 1786-1789. 5 vols. 4°.—English translation by G. A. Thompson. London, 1812-15.

JOSEPH ANTONIO DE VILLA-SEÑOR Y SANCHEZ. "*Teatro Americano.*" México, 1746.—Of indirect value for Yucatan. (2 vols. folio).

J. LAFITAN. S. J. "*Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps.*" Paris, 1724. (There is a Dutch translation: "*De Zeden de Wilden van Amerika,*" but I have no access to its date at present).—The best ethnological work previous to 1850.

ABBÉ GUILLAUME THOMAS RAYNAL. "*Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes.*" Paris, 1780, and other editions. English translation. Edinburgh, 1782.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON. "*History of America.*" (Numberless editions and translations, all too well known to require special mention here).—Highly important.

CHEVALIER DE PAUW. "*Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains.*" London, 1771. A strongly negative, and through its exaggerations in that direction, very injudicious work. Still it should be read attentively, as well as the rejoinder to it by Dom Pernetty.

GEMELLI CARRERI. (Properly belongs to the 17th century). "*Giro del Mondo.*" Naples, 1721.—French: "*Voyage du Tour du Monde.*" Paris, 1719.

In the Library of the Cathedral of Mexico there still exists:

ARTURO O'NEIL. "*Descripcion, Poblacion, y censo de la Provincia de Yucatan en la Nueva España.*" 1795.

We have also notice of the former existence of the following works, by:

FRAY ANDRÉS AVENDAÑO. "*Diccionario de nombres de personas, ídolos, danzas, y otras antigüedades de los Indios de Yucatan.*"

"*Explicacion de varios Vaticinios de los antiguos Indios de Yucatan.*"

To take notice of all the geographical works, cyclopædias, &c., &c., published in the 18th century, and which contain notices of Yucatan,

would be a task exceeding far the time and limits of this list. It can easily be proved, however, that the works on especially Yucatecan topics are not numerous. This may be due, in part, to the rigorous exclusion of foreigners from Spanish America, and the consequent decline of intellectual activity towards the close of Spanish domination. The great collection of Juan Bautista Muñoz contains hardly anything on Yucatan.

Writers of the Nineteenth Century.

Here the number of publications increases so rapidly, that I cannot attempt to notice all. Besides, many of the authors are so well known that a mere mention of their names and the titles of their works will suffice. Periodicals containing papers on Yucatan, will be mentioned generally, but detailed reference to special articles can be given only in a few exceptional instances. The latest works will only be alluded to.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. "Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne." Paris, 1811, 2 vols. 4°.—Id. Paris, 1811, 5 vols. 8°.—Paris, 1825-27, 4 vols. 8°. Spanish translation: Madrid, 1818. English translation by John Black. London, 1811. Also translated into the German. References to Yucatan and its inhabitants may also be found in "Ansichten der Natur," (Notes), and even in "Kosmos."

FRIEDRICH VON WALDECK. "Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la Province de Yucatan." Paris, 1838. Splendid, but the drawings are mostly restorations,—therefore suspicious.

ANTONIO DEL RIO.

(The date of this report is: "Palenque 24 June, 1787," and I shall refer to it more particularly under the heading of "Chiapas,"—still, as it contains the report of the Franciscan, Thomas de Soza, on Yucatecan ruins, I place it here also).

"Description of the Ruins of an ancient City, discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Gautemala, in Central America; translated from the original manuscript report of Captain Don Antonio del Rio." London, 1822.—There are two German translations: one "Huehuetlapallan, Amerika's grosse Urstadt, &c." Meiningen, 1824, and v. Minutoli's "Beschreibung einer alten Stadt in Guatemala." 1832.—A French translation, by D. B. Warden, in "Antiquités Méxicaines." Vol. II. and, finally, the Spanish original, in "Diccionario universal de Geografía, &c." Vol. VIII.—See also abstract in "Mosaico Mexicano." Vol. II.

LORENZO DE ZAVALA. Report on Uxmal, published in Vol. I. of "Antiquités Méxicaines."

JOHN L. STEPHENS. "Travels in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan." N. York, 1841.

"Incidents of travel in Yucatan." N. York, 1843.

F. CATHERWOOD. "Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan." N. York, 1844.

B. M. NORMAN. "Rambles in Yucatan." N. York, 1848.

CHARLES ST. JOHN FANCOURT. "The History of Yucatan." London, 1854.—Not of great value.

EMMANUEL VON FRIEDRICHSTHAL. Letter of 21 April, 1841, in "Registro Yucateco," Vol. II., and "Diccionario Universal," Vol. X.—"Les Monuments de l' Yucatan," in "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages," 1841, Vol. 92.—These papers are not very valuable.

JUAN GALINDO. Report on the antiquities of Lake Peten. "Antiquités Méxicaines," Vol. I.

MODESTO MENDEZ. Report on Tikal. "Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde," Vol. I.; 1853; also in Siver's "Mittelamerika" and other places. He is, as yet, the only authority on Tikal.

JULIUS FROEBEL. "Aus Amerika, Erfahrungen, Reisen, und Studien." Leipzig.—English translation: "Seven years travel in Central America." London, 1861.

CARL BARTHOLOMÄUS HELLER. "Reisen in Mexico." Leipzig, 1853.—Rather fair and moderate.

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY, and VIOLET LE DUC. "Cités et Ruines américaines." Paris, 1863.—Invaluable for its photographs.

ARTHUR MORELET. "Voyage dans l' Amérique centrale, l' Ile de Cuba, et la Yucatan." Paris, 1857. English translation by Mrs. E. G. Squier. "Itza, or the unexplored regions of Central America." London, 1871.—A very attractive and valuable work.

CHARLES ETIENNE BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l' Amérique centrale." Paris, 1857-9. "Rapport sur les Ruines de Mayapan et d' Uxmal," in "Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique," Vol. II.

"Relation des choses de Yucatan." Paris, 1864. (See Landa and Lizana).

"Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique." Paris, 1868.

"Manuscrit Troano." Paris, 1869-1870.

The late Abbé Brasseur was certainly the greatest of all modern travellers in Mexico and Central America, as far as extent of travel and long duration of stay are concerned. He knew those countries better, and had easier access to the natives, than any other similar traveller of this

century. His works are therefore, actual mines of wealth so far as old documents are concerned: he has collected and brought to light more manuscripts than any other student. But his honest zeal and unrestrained enthusiasm have led him into paths on which he has wandered lamentably astray. His works are indispensable, though very little of his own conclusions can be believed.

JUAN PIO PEREZ. "Cronología antigua de Yucatan," in "Relation des choses de Yucatan." 1864. Diccionario de la Lengua haya. Mérida, 1877.

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. "Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta etnográfica de México." México, 1864.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, Worcester, Mass. *Proceedings* No. 44. Oct. 1865, page 63. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

Proceedings No. 55. Oct. 1870, page 42. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

Proceedings No. 56. April, 1871, page 7. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

Proceedings No. 66. April, 1876, page 16. "The Mayas," by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

Proceedings No. 69. April, 1877, page 70. "Dr. Le Plongeon in Yucatan," by Stephen Salisbury, jr.

Proceedings No. 70. Oct. 1877, page 89. Report of S. F. Haven, LL.D.

Proceedings No. 71. April, 1878, page 71. "Terra Cotta Figure from Isla Mujeres," by Stephen Salisbury, jr. Page 91, "The Mexican Calendar Stone," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D.

Proceedings No. 72. Oct. 1878, page 65. "Archæological Communication on Yucatan," by Augustus Le Plongeon, M.D. Page 77, "Notes on Yucatan," by Mrs. Alice D. Le Plongeon.

Proceedings No. 73. April, 1879, page 81. "Mexican Copper Tools," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D. Page 113, "Letter from Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon."

Proceedings No. 74. Oct. 1879, page 71. "The Katunes of Maya History," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D.

Proceedings No. 75. April, 1880, page 59. "The Landa Alphabet," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D.

Proceedings No. 76. Oct. 1880, page 58. "Mexican Paper," by Philipp J. J. Valentini, Ph.D. Page 82, "Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America," by Ad. F. Bandelier.

PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI. "A new, and an old Map of Yucatan," in "Magazine of American History," 1879.

ALBERT GALLATIN. "Notes on the semi-civilized nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America," in Vol. I. of "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society." N. York, 1845.

A. AUBIN. "Mémoire sur la peinture didactique et l'écriture figurative des anciens mexicaines." Paris, 1859-1861. (4 papers, published also in the "Revue américaine et Orientale." 1st Series, Vols. III., IV. and V.)

LÉON DE ROSNY. "Les écritures figuratives et hiéroglyphiques des peuples anciens et modernes." Paris, 1860.

"Mémoire sur la Numération dans la Langue et dans l'écriture sacrée des anciens Mayas." (Compte-Rendu du "Congrès international des américanistes." 1875, Vol. II.)

"Essai sur le déchiffrement de l'écriture hiératique de l'Amérique Centrale." Paris, 1876.—Still continued.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. "Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México." México, 1862.

German translation, by Isidor Epstein. N. York, 1877.

HYACINTHE DE CHARENCY. "Recherches sur le Codex Troano." Paris, 1876

D. GERONIMO CASTILLO. "Diccionario Historico, Biografico y Monumental de Yucatan." Mérida, 1866. 2 vols.

SERAPIO BAQUEIRO. "Ensayo Historico sobre las Revoluciones de Yucatan, 1840-1864." Mérida, 1870. 2 vols.

GUSTAV KLEMM. "Allgemeine Culturgeschichte der Menschheit." 10 vols. Leipzig, 1843-1852.

HEINRICH WÜTTKE. "Die Entstehung der Schrift."

EDWARD KING, LORD KINGSBOROUGH. "Antiquities of Mexico." 1831-1848, London, 9 vols. folio. Special value of plates.

DE LARENANDIERE. "Méxique et Guatemala," in "Univers pittoresque." Paris, 1843.

WM. H. PRESCOTT. "History of the Conquest of Mexico." (Too well known to need any remarks).

LEWIS H. MORGAN. "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family." 1871.

(No. 218 of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.")

"American aboriginal Architecture." Johnson's Encyclopedia, Vol. I.

"Ancient Society." New York, 1877.

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. "The Native Races of the Pacific States." 5 vols. N. York, 1875.

JOHN D. BALDWIN. "Ancient America." New York, 1872.

JOSÉ M. MELGAR Y SERRANO. "Exámen comparativo entre los Signos simbólicos, &c." Vera Cruz, 1872.

GUSTAV BRÜHL. "Die Culturvölker Alt-Amerika's." New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, 1876, 1877, and 1878.

ADOLPH BASTIAN. "Die Culturlander des alten America's." Berlin, 1878. 2 vols.

JOHN T. SHORT. "The North Americans of Antiquity." New York, 1879.

I further refer to papers in

"NOUVELLES ANNALES DES VOYAGES." 1843. By H. Ternaux-Compans.

"REGISTRO YUCATECO." Vols. I. and II.

And to the publications of

CRESCENCIO CARRILLO, Licenciado. (I have but glanced at one of his works).

ELIGIO ANCONA. "Historia de Yucatan." Mérida, 1875. 4 vols.

MANUEL LARRAINZAR. "Estudios sobre la Historia de América, sus Ruinas y Antigüedades." México, 1875. 5 vols.

On most of the works like those of Prescott, Bancroft, Baldwin, and others, I need not comment, having already expressed my opinion in "Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans," and "Tenure and Distribution of Lands, and Customs with respect to Inheritance among the Ancient Mexicans."—(10th and 11th Reports of the Peabody Museum). In regard to Yucatecan paintings and carvings, I have expressed my convictions in "Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America," Vol. 27 of the "Proceedings of the American Association for advancement of Science." 1878.

I repeat it, this attempt at a bibliography on Yucatecan antiquities is far from being complete,—many works of greater or less importance having probably been overlooked.

CHIAPAS.

THIS district or State contains the well known ruins of Palenque and Ocosingo. Still, but very few of the works hereafter mentioned relate to these places. It is therefore a bibliography of Chiapas and of its aborigines:—Zendal, Zoques, Zotzil, Chiapanecos, &c., and not a special bibliography of Palenque, &c., which I intend to present,—convinced that our lack of knowledge on the aborigines of Chiapas in general is a chief cause of our ignorance about the past history of these remains.

A large number of authors treating of Chiapas have already been noticed in regard to Yucatan, and in such cases I merely give the author's name, without the title or any other reference to his works, except when there are special reasons for it.

Writers of the Sixteenth Century.

DIEGO DE GODOY. "Relacion á Hernando Cortez, en que trata del Descubrimiento de diversas Ciudades i Provincias, i Guerra que tuvo con los Indios, &c., de la Provincia de Chamula."—First incorporated in the "Historia general" of Oviedo y Valdés, again in Barcia's "Historiadores primitivos de Indias," and in "Historiadores primitivos de Indias" of Vedia.—French translation by Ternaux-Compans, in 1st, "Recueil de piécés concernant la Méxique, &c."—Also Italian in "Ramusio," Vol. III.

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS.

HERNAN CORTÉZ.—"Carta quinta."

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA.

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. (Eye-witness of the conquest of Chiapa.)

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. (Especially the "Apologética historia.")

GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA. (Incidental mention.)

In the 2d "*Recueil de piécés concernant le Méxique*," of Ternaux-Compans, there is a complaint or letter of an anonymous author against Las Casas, dated Chiapas.—I also refer to "*Cartas de Indias*," Vol. I., containing several letters of Las Casas himself.

There is, in fact, but very little published about the antiquities of Chiapas, during the 16th century. I do not even mention any of the general collections which have an occasional reference to the name. But few vocabularies are noticed. Still we are informed of the following works, which may yet be in existence, or which at all events have existed once, and were written during the 16th century.

FRAY TOMÁS TORRE. "Historia de los principios de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala, del Orden de Santo Domingo."

FRAY DOMINGO VICO. "Historia de los Indios, sus fábulas, supersticiones, costumbres, &c., &c."

The library of the "Museo Nacional" of the City of Guatemala, contains a number of fragments of a "*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente Ferrer de Chiapas y Guatemala*," the third book of which is superscribed: "Isagoge histórico apologético general de todas las Indias."—There is no date nor name of author, but it can be conjectured that it was written in the 16th century.—Gregorio García also quotes: *Fray Estévan de Salazar*. "Discurs. Symb. apost." who in turn is said to refer to a book entitled "*Historia i Relacion de la Teología de los Indios Mexicanos*," said book being lost in a shipwreck, 1564.

Writers of the Seventeenth Century.

GREGORIO GARCÍA.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA.

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA.

ANTONIO DE REMESAL.

AUGUSTIN DE VETANCOURT.

GIL GONZALEZ DÁVILA.

JUAN DIAZ DE LA CALLE.

AUGUSTIN DÁVILA-PADILLA. "Historia de la Fundacion y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México." 1st edition, Madrid, 1596; 2d edition, Brussels, 1625.—Mentions Chiapas only in connection with the biography of Las Casas.—The first edition has almost disappeared, so that it is practically a book of the 17th century.

AUGUSTIN CANO. "Historia de la Provincia de Predicadores de San-Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala."—Fragment of a MS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Guatemala.

The following books are known to have existed once:

FRAY JUAN ZAPATA Y SANDOVAL. "Cartas al Conde de Gomera . . . sobre los Indios de Chiapas."

"Cartas al Rey sobre el Estado Dulce Diócesis de Chiapas."

I make no mention of the compilations and general collections containing references to Chiapas. They are not numerous.—Gregorio García in his book, "Origen de los Indios," has probably the earliest mention of the ruins of Ocosingo, and even perhaps, some indication about those of Palenque.—Cortez who, accompanied by Bernal Diez, passed very near Palenque in 1525, did not take any notice of the pueblo,—which at that time was certainly not inhabited.

Writers of the Eighteenth Century.

NUÑEZ DE LA VEGA. "Constituciones diocesanas del Obispado de Chiapas." Rome, 1702.

Important for its reports on the idolatrous rites and the traditions of the aborigines.

LORENZO BOTURINI BERNADUCCI. "Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional." Madrid, 1746.

Valuable for his mention of the Calendar of Chiapas.

MARIANO FERNANDEZ DE VEYTLA Y ECHEVERRIA. "Historia del Origen de las gentes que poblaron la America Septentrional que llaman la Nueva-España, con noticia de los primeros que establecieron la monarquía que en ella floreció de la nacion Tolteca."—This work has been published as lately as 1836, at Mexico, by C. F. Ortega, under the title of "Historia antigua de México."—It contains notices of the calendar of Chiapas.

F. X. CLAVIGERO. S. J. (ABBATE.)

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.

JOSEPH ANTONIO DE VILLA-SEÑOR Y SANCHEZ.

FRANCISCO XIMENEZ. "Crónica de la Provincia de Chiapas y Guatemala,"—of which part of the 7th book is at the "Museo Nacional" of Guatemala.

Memoria de la Provincia de Yucatán, in San Vicente in Chiapas y Guatemala." Written about 1730—and possibly the same work as the above—concerning a Province in Yucatan, Yucatan which did not exist up to 1824 and were the remnants of two 1588 copies of the original printed in the University of Salamanca in 1888.

Memoria, Carta. "Relacion descrita de la Intendencia y Gobernacion de la Provincia de los Yucatanos." May still exist in Mexico.

Memoria, Carta. "Crónica de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapas y Guatemala de San Francisco de Yucatán."—Guatemala, 1774 (1775). MS. The history of Guatemala ("Bosque Nacional" still exists in an inventory MS. of El Colegio de San y Universidades" in the city of Mexico. "Whereas the 'Crónica' itself is in Guatemala, I am unable to say. The work is very scarce. Mr. Jansen found the first copy in 1888.

Relacion. "Relacion de la Situacion de las Zonas, en el año 1714." MS. Perhaps still in the city of Guatemala.

Relacion de las Indias y de la Carta. "Exposición de la Cosmografía del Cielo y de la Tierra, y de la Situación de la ciudad de México." MS. "Relacion de las Indias" of the city of Mexico.—Very important for the history of Chiapas.

Relacion de las Indias y de la Carta. "Exposición de las ruinas de Yucatán, en las inmediaciones del Palacio de San Francisco del Palacio." MS. formerly belonged to the University of Salamanca. It was written about 1734, and is the first printed edition of the celebrated ruins.

Relacion de las Indias y de la Carta. "Copia portulana del V. P. Fr. Agustín Margá de Yucatán." MS. 1714.

Relacion de las Indias y de la Carta. "Copia portulana del americano septentrional apólo." MS. 1714. (Margá was one of the first explorers in Chiapas.)

Documents relating to the explorations of Palenque.

Besides the "Memoria" of Oudotz already quoted, which first made us acquainted with the ruined pueblo, there exist the following documents:

Relacion de las Indias y de la Carta. "Expediente sobre el descubrimiento de las ruinas de Palenque en la provincia de Chiapas, distrito de Guatemala." 28 June 1784. (Archives of the royal Academy, at Madrid).—It is directed by the lieutenant "Alcalde mayor" of Chiapas, at S^{ro} Domingo del Palacio, directing him to survey the ruins.

Relacion de las Indias y de la Carta. "Informe, hecho en 15 de Diciembre de 1784." Description of the ruins. MSS. translated and published by Brasseur in "Ruines de Palenque," 1866.

ANTONIO BERNASCONI. Other reports on the ruins, accompanied by plans and drawings. MS. in Spain. Date, 13 June, 1578.

JUAN BAUTISTA MUÑOZ. Letter to the Marquis de Sonora, written 1786. Translated by Brasseur: "Ruines de Palenque." 1866.

ANTONIO DEL RIO. "Descripción del terreno y población antigua nuevamente descubierta en las inmediaciones del pueblo del Palenque."—I have already referred to it under "Yucatan." Whether the plates of the English edition are genuine, is yet doubtful.

I must add here, that until about 1820, the state of Chiapas pertained, not to Mexico, but to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala, and consequently all the authorities treating of the latter country may be supposed to contain information about Chiapas also.

Writers of the Nineteenth Century.

(Explorations of Palenque.)

JUAN GARRIDO. [?] *Said* to have written about Palenque in 1805.

GUILLERMO DUPAIX AND LUCIANO CASTAÑEDA. "Relacion hecha al Rey, sobre tres expediciones, &c." in 1805, 1806, and 1807. They visited Palenque late in 1807.—Their reports and drawings were first published in 1831, in Vols. IV. and V. of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico," and an English translation in Vol. VI.—A French and Spanish version, together with all the plates, is contained in "Antiquités mexicaines." Paris, 1834.—The drawings of Castañeda are by far the most complete which we have, although they disagree with many of those of other travellers. This disagreement will be referred to hereafter.

JUAN GALINDO. "Palenque et autres lieux circonvoisins." Letter dated 27 April, 1831, in "Antiquités mexicaines," Vol. I.—English translation in the "Literary Gazette," No. 769, London, 1831.—Col. Galludo visited Palenque himself, but he is so enthusiastic that all his statements and even measurements should be taken with many allowances.

FRIEDRICH VON WALDECK. "Description des ruines de Palenque," with 56 large plates, in "Monuments anciens du Mexique." Paris, 1866.—M. de Waldeck had spent two years at Palenque (1832-1834),—his plates are magnificent, but they restore far too much.

JOHN L. STEPHENS. "Travels in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan." N. York, 1841.

"Incidents of Travel in Yucatan." 1843.

F. CATHERWOOD. (See Yucatan.)

ARTHUR MORELET. (See Yucatan.) Visited P. in 1846.

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY. (See Yucatan.) In 1858.

CHARLES ETIENNE BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "Ruines de Palenque," in "Monuments anciens du Mexique," 1866, Paris.—Valuable for the historical introductions and for the numerous references to authorities.

The historical essay is a confused and disorderly jumble, barely readable.—The Abbé visited Palenque subsequently—in 1871.

To these reports I finally add:

CHARLES RAT. "The Palenque tablet in the United States National Museum." Washington, D. C., 1879. (No. 331 of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.")

Aside from the numberless historical, archaeological, and ethnological works, several of which I have already noticed under "Yucatan," I beg to refer to some specifically Central-American and Mexican sources treating of Chiapas in general, with some occasional mention of Palenque and of Ocosingo, or even without any particular reference to them.

DOMINGO JUARROS. "Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala," 1808—1812.—English translation by J. Bailly, London, 1823.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA GARCIA PELAEZ. "Memorias para la Historia del antiguo Reyno de Guatemala." 3 vols. Guatemala, 1851.—An excellent work, full of valuable and reliable information.

HYACINTHE DE CHARENCEY. "Le Mythe de Votan." Alençon, 1871.—Ingenious speculations.

FÉLIX CABRERA. "Teatro crítico-americano."—Published with the different editions of Del Rio.—Abstract from Nuñez de la Vega, with more or less hypothetical speculations about the origin, life, and doings of "Votan" in Chiapas.

MARIANO ROBLES DOMINGUEZ DE MAZARIEGOS. "Memoria histórica de la provincia de Chiapas . . ." Cadiz, 1813.

EMILIO PINEDA. "Descripción Geográfica del Departamento de Chiapas y Soconusco." In the "Boletín de la Sociedad de geografía y Estadística de México." Vol. III. Also, México, 1845.

JOSÉ DE GARAY. "Reconocimiento del Istmo de Tehuantepec." México, 1844.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. "Cuadro descriptivo de las Lenguas indígenas, &c." (See Yucatan.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. "Geografía de las Lenguas." (See Yucatan.)

In the imperfect list herewith submitted I have frequently included works of which nothing is known save that they once existed. This is done for the purpose of calling attention to them, should any one of them be found in the hands of book owners and collectors here or abroad. Libraries like those of Mr. Lenox or of Mr. John Carter-Brown

should be searched for such writings, and copies at least should be secured. The plan of Palenque, made by Bernasconi, in 1785, should also be copied without delay. A copy can be obtained from Madrid, by application to the Royal Academy of Spain.

GUATEMALA. (Copan and Chiapas included.)

Writers of the Sixteenth Century.

HERNAN CORTÉS. (4th and 5th letter. Casual mention.)

PEDRO DE ALVARADO. Seventeen letters to Hernan Cortés, the first of which is dated: Utlatlan, 11 April, 1524. Only two of those letters were printed, the remaining fifteen are yet in MSS. Mr. E. G. Squier owned MS. copies of the whole, but whither they went at his sale I do not know. The two which were published (11 April and 28 July), appeared in the following works: "*Delle navigazioni et viaggi, &c.*" by Gian Battista Ramusio. Venice, Italian version. The "*due lettere de Pietro d' Alvarado,*" are contained in the 3d volume, editions of 1556, 1565, and 1606.

OVIEDÓ. "*Historia y natural de las Indias.*" Vol. III. Written between 1535 and 1557, but printed only 1853. Madrid.

ANDRÉS GONZALEZ BARCIA. "*Historiadores primitivos de Indias.*" Madrid, 1749, Vol. I.

H. TERNAUX-COMPANS. "*Premier recueil de pièces relatives à la conquête du Mexique.*" Paris, 1838.—French translation.

ENRIQUE DE VEDIA. "*Historiadores primitivos de Indias.*" Madrid, 1852. (Vol. I.)

These letters, from the conqueror of Guatemala, are very important, and the 15 unpublished ones should be printed at the earliest possible moment.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA. (Quite full, and mentions the earliest author giving the etymology—or rather, an etymology—of the word "*Cuauhtemallan.*"—This is the earliest *printed* notice about it.)

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS. (Has other information besides Alvarado's letters.)

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. (Very important, particularly on the interior provinces pertaining or adjacent to his bishopric of Chiapas.)

GIROLAMO BENZONI. (Visited Guatemala himself, and although brief, he still is valuable.)

PETRUS MARTYR, AB ANGLERIA. (Brief notice, in connection with the movements of Alvarado, in the last decade, Cap's V. and X.—earliest reports on Guatemala in general, received in Europe.)

FRAY TORIBIO DE PAREDES, SURNAMED MOTOLINTA. (Not only the "Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España," contains incidental reference to Guatemala,—but there is a trace of a "Viaje á Guatemala."—Yet the latter is still in doubt.)

FRAY GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA.

BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO. (Although a citizen of Spanish Guatemala, his reports are not very full.)

"REQUETO DE PLUSIEURS CHEFS D' ATTILAN." Addressed, under date of 1 Feb'y, 1571, to Philip II. Published in French, by H. Ternaux-Compans, in 1st "Recueil de piécés concernant le Mexique," 1838.—It is valuable.

PASCUAL DE ANDAGOYA. "Relacion de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla del oro, y de lo ocurrido en el descubrimiento de la mar del Sur y costas del Perú y Nicaragua." About 1545.—Original at Sevilla, printed for the first time by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, in 1829. Vol. III. of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, &c."—English translation, by C. R. Markham, published under the title of "The Narrative of Pascual de Andagoya," by the Hackluyt Society, Vol. 34, 1865.—Slight mention is made of Guatemala.

ALONZO DE ZURITA. (Çorita?) "Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, y maneras y diferencias que habla de ellos en la Nueva-España. . . ."—This important official document, written about 1560, has been published but once in Spanish,—in Vol. II. of "Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía," 1865.—The text is, however, imperfect.—A better original had been used by Ternaux-Compans for his French translation: "Rapport sur les différentes classes de la Nouvelle-Espagne."—Zurita is very important on the organization of the Quiché tribes of Guatemala, and he has been almost verbally copied by Herrera.

JUAN GARCIA DE PALACIO. "Carta dirigida al Rey de España," 1576, March 8th. The chief importance of this report, in connection with this list, consists in its being the earliest notice of the ruins of Copan. Herrera made extensive use of Palacio's writings, but he omitted that part which referred to Copan because it was not confirmed by his times by any other testimony. The first publication of Palacio was by Ternaux-Compans, in 1840, "Recueil de Documents et mémoires antiques sur l'histoire des possessions espagnoles, &c."—French translation of Bouat, but not always reliable. A Spanish copy appeared in 1866 in Vol. VII. of "Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos . . ."—A reprint of the copy with English translation, by E. G. Squier, in 1860, as Vol. I. of his collection of rare and original documents, relations, &c.,

&c."—Finally. Dr. Alexander von Frantzius published a German translation in 1873, under the heading of "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre, 1576,"—which is particularly valuable on account of the notes by the translator, as well as by Dr. C. H. Berendt.—Palacio must have visited Copan about 1576, and the fact is established through him that its buildings were in ruins at the time of the Spanish conquest, that is about 1530, and no distinct traditions of their origin left.

Passing over all general collections and geographical works, &c., &c., of the sixteenth century, I will mention:

"*CARTAS DE INDIAS.*" (See Yucatan.) and the miscellaneous collections like "*Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España,*" begun by Navarrete, Miguel Salvá, and Pedro Salg de Barada, in 1842, and still continued.

"*Coleccion de Documentos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía.*" Commenced in 1864, and still continued.

(These collections contain chiefly documents from the "Real Archivo de Indias," and although they are of recent date, the papers are all from the earlier times of Spanish conquest and settlement.)

The library of the "Museo Nacional" at the City of Guatemala (la Nueva), contains the following:

RAFAEL ARÉVALO. "*Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de Guatemala*" (Town book or record, from 1524 to 1530.)

"*Coleccion de Documentos antiguos del Archivo del Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de Guatemala.*"—(Both bound in one volume and published in 1856 and 1857.)

MANUSCRIPTS. "*Libro segundo del Cabildo de la Ciudad de Santiago de la Provincia del Guatemala.*" (1530 to 1541.)

"*Libro tercero de Cabildo.*" (1541 to 1543.)

"*Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala.*" (Fragmentary.)

FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ, CACIQUE OF SOLOLA. (FRANCISCO ERNANDEZ ARANA XAHILA.) "*Memorial,*" written about 1582.—Original owned by Brasseur de Bourbourg, who quotes it under the heading of "*Memorial de Tèc-Pan-Atitlan.*"—It is one of the most important and valuable documents existing on aboriginal topics,—embodying, as it does, a statement of the conquest of Guatemala, written by a native in his own language.

"*Documentos antiguos de la casa de Ixcuinte-Nèhàlb.*"

In addition to these, I must lay particular stress on the "territorial titles" land grants, cessions, leases, or deeds to lands, still held in Guatemala,—or to whatever (if anything) may be left of their records.—Such papers contain frequently interesting, if not important references to antiquities, traditions and historical facts, also to the customs and manners of the Indians.

Among the other authorities still perhaps existing, or known to have existed through the different sources I refer to those dealing, of course, linguistically with those they are of direct bearing on rather miscellaneous items.

Don Bartolomé de Landa. "Don Juan García Salazar. "Descripción de las Yndias de la Nueva España, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa Rica y Santiago de los Caballeros." (May, 1572. MS. copy of the original in the Bodleian.)

"Memorial de las representaciones hechas por la D. Cath. R. M. del Rey en la Cámara de Indias para la Nueva España." MS. of E. G. Taylor, 1573.

Don Juan de Montalvo de Miraflores. "Exposición dirigida al Ilmo. Señor Juan de los Rios, obispo de la Vera Cruz y Tierra de Oaxaca." (1573. MS. copy of the original in the Bodleian.)

Don Juan de Bracamonte, Ysla. Lucas Gallardo and Guillermo Carrasco. "Relación de la provincia y tierra de la Vera Paz." 1574. MS. copy of the original in the Bodleian.

Don Tomás de Alvarado. "Representaciones al Rey sobre el Estado de la Nueva España y Vera Paz."

Don Tomás de Alvarado. "Tratado de los Idiomas de Guatemala."

"Relación de las Misiones del Orden de Predicadores en las Indias." (1575. MS. copy.)

Don Tomás de Alvarado. "Historia de los principios de la Provincia de Oaxaca y Guatemala, del Orden de Santo Domingo."—Written prior to 1575.

Don Tomás de Alvarado. "Historia de los Indios, sus Fábulas, Supersticiones y Costumbres." (1575. MS. copy.)

"Lengua para los Indios, en Lengua de Vera Paz." 4 vols. (Still in MS. copy.)

Gregorio de Román. "República Indiana." (See Yucatan.)

This list is certainly far from complete, and it may be that among the vocabularies, grammars, and such works now lost, although we know of their former existence, there were some,—perhaps even many,—which contained historical and ethnological matter of great value.—It is hardly possible to avoid all allusions to such subjects in any work on linguistics. But the number of books of that class is too great for the purpose of the present list.

Writers of the Seventeenth Century.

AUGUSTIN DAVILA-PADILLA. (See Yucatan. First edition appeared in 1595.)

GREGORIO GARCIA. (Plain and well informed, though brief.)

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA. (Important on organization and government, also myths.)

ANTONIO DE HERRERA. (Very full and important.)

ANTONIO DE REMESAL. (Not as full on antiquities as might be expected.)

AUGUSTIN DE VETANCOURT. (Very slight mention.)

ENRICO MARTINEZ. (Casual mention.)

GIL GONZALEZ DÁVILA.

JUAN DIEZ DE LA CALLE.

FERNANDO DE ALBA IXTILXOCHITL. "Relaciones históricas."—Of these, the thirteenth, "De la Venida de los Españoles," is of particular interest for Guatemala,—since it relates in detail Cortés' trip to Honduras. The "Relaciones" are printed in full in Vol. IX. of Lord Kingsborough's Collection,—the 13th however, was published under the title of "Horribles Crueldades de los Conquistadores de México," as appendix to Sahagun's "Hist-general," Vol. III., in 1829. From this, M. Ternaux made a French translation, published by him in 1838, as "Cruautés horribles des Conquêteurs du Mexique,"—in the first series of his "Voyages et Mémoires originaux, &c."

"Historia de los Chichimecos, o' reyes antiguos de Tezcuco."—Casual mention of Guatemala.—Published in Kingsborough, Vol. IX., and translated by Ternaux and printed in French as "Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," in 1840.—(2d Series.)—Besides these, there are found references to Guatemala in the "Sumaria Relacion, de los Toltecas." (Kingsb. IX.)—Ixtlilxochitl, though full of details, is always a very suspicious source.—He is the representative of one tribe exclusively.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO FUENTES Y GUZMAN. "Recordacion florida; Discurso histórico, natural, material, militar, y político del reyno de Guatemala." MS. of 1690. Original in the municipal archives of the city of Guatemala. Copy at the "Museo Nacional."—Fuentes is like Ixtlilxochitl—both have the same tendency to extol their native tribes—still both must be carefully studied and critically examined.—A publication of Fuentes, well and judiciously annotated, would be highly useful.

FERNANDO ESPINO. "Historia de la reduccion y conversion de la Provincia de Taguzgalpa, con la Vida de los tres Mártires."—Printed at Guatemala, 1674.—Whether and where it still exists I do not know.

LIONEL WAFER. "A new Voyage and description of the Isthmus of America."—London, 1699.

FRAY THOMAS GAGE. "New survey of the West Indies." (A work which is looked upon with great suspicion, because the author, although he evidently went to Guatemala from Mexico, misrepresents a great many facts. Still he cannot be overlooked.)—This book appeared first prior to 1676.—Robertson quotes an English edition of 1677, and that of 1699 is the fourth edition. There are French editions of 1676, 1694–5, 1699,

1720, 1721. Dutch of 1682, 1700. German of 1698. Spanish. 1808.—Yet this list is evidently still incomplete, as further material is out of my reach.

ANTONIO DE LEON Y PINELO. "Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales de Encomiendas, Oficios, y casos en que se requirieron para las Indias Occidentales." Madrid, 1680.—This work is one of the best on many vital points of Spanish administration,—and since the latter is so intimately connected with the past and present condition of the aborigines as to make its knowledge absolutely necessary,—it must be attentively studied. I shall, for this reason, add below the books of Solórzano:

"*Epítome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental, Náutica y Geográfica.*" Madrid, 1629. 2d Edition, by Barcia, 1737 and 1738. (Important bibliographically.)

"*Relacion que en el Consejo Real de las Indias hizo el Licenciado . . . sobre la Pacificacion de las Provincias del Manché y Lacandon,*" 1689. MM. of E. G. Squier.

JUAN DE SOLÓRZANO-PEREYRA. "Disputationem de Indiarum jure, atque mixta Indiarum Occidentallum Inquisitione, acquisitione, et retentione tribus libris comprehensam." (This is the title of the first volume only, the second volume bears the heading "De Indiarum gubernatione, &c.") Madrid, 1689-1689.—2d edition, 1672.

"*Politica Indiana.*" Madrid, 1648.—Subsequent editions, 1703, 1736-39, 1776

The latter work is but a Spanish transcription or version of the first. The importance of both is in their clear "exposé" of the principles of right and law, according to which the Spanish Indies were governed.—We are thereby enabled to judge of the true relations existing between the conquering and conquered races, and to detect, how far the original condition of the latter was understood or misunderstood by the former (and misrepresented?)

The "Museo Nacional," at Guatemala, has the following manuscripts besides those already mentioned:

"Historia de la Provincia de Predicadores de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala."—A fragment, possibly by *Fray Augustin Cano*.

"Solicitud que el Padre Fray Augustin Cano hizo al Ill^{mo} Sr Obispo de Guatemala . . . que se hallaba de visita en el pueblo de Cajabon pidiendo amparo para reducir á los indios Choles."

"Informe dado al Rey por el Padre Fray Augustin Cano sobre la entrada que por la parte de la Verapaz se hizo al Peten en 1695."

"Suma de los Capítulos generales y principales, ordenaciones, &c., de la Provincia de Predicadores de Chiapa y Guatemala." by *Fray Lope de Montoya*.

"Vidas de varios Padres de la Provincia de Chiapa y Guatemala del Orden de Indicadores," by *Fray Antonio de Molina*.

Whether the "Noticia ó Relacion de los Padres de la Orden de Predicadores que florecian en la Provincia de los Zoques" (anonymous MS.), belongs to the 17th century, I am unable to say.

Notice of the following books or writings has been communicated to me from various sources :

FRAY ANTONIO AROCHENA. "Catálogo y noticia de los Escritores del Orden de San Francisco de la Provincia de Guatemala." (A very important bibliographical composition, to judge from its plan.)

FRAY ESTEVAN AVILES. "Historia de Guatemala desde los tiempos de los Indios, hasta la fundacion de la provincia de los franciscanos; poblacion de aquellas tierras, propagacion de los Indios, sus ritos, ceremonias, policía, y Gobierno." (Said to have been printed at Guatemala in 1663.)

FRAY SALVADOR CIPRIANA. "Libro de los Idolos de la Provincia de Zacatula."

"Hechos de los Padres Fray Levis Cancer, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, y Fray Pedro de Angulo, en la predicacion del Evangelio."

"Historia de la Entrada de los Españoles en Zacatula."

NICOLAS LIZARRAGA. (See Yucatan.)

FRAY MELCHOR DE JESUS LOPEZ. "Relacion de la Conversion á la Fé de los Indios de Salamanca." 1690.

"Relacion de la Pacificacion de los Indios de Vera-Paz."

FRAY PEDRO SOTOMAYOR. "Informacion de los Varones Ilustres del Orden de San Francisco del Reino de Guatemala."

DIEGO DE UNZUETA. "Relacion de Guatemala,"—handed to Juan Díez de la Calle in 1648.

NICOLAS DE VALKENZUELA. (Wrote about the expedition against Lacandon,—in 1695.)

FRAY ESTEVAN VERDELETE. "Noticias de la Provincia de Teguzigulpa." (Written between 1593 and 1612.)

JUAN ZAPATA Y SANDOVAL. (See Chiapas.)

FRAY PEDRO DAZA. "Memorias históricas de la fundacion y predicacion de los Religiosos de la Merced de la Redencion de cautivos en Guatemala."

FRAY JOSÉ MORERA. "Noticias de la Provincia de Guatemala, con un Tratado de la Mision y Martirio de los P. P. Misioneros, Verdelete y Monragudo." (MS. said to be at Guatemala.)

FRAY PABLO REBULLIDA. "Informe á la Audiencia de Guatemala sobre el estado actual de la Cristiandad de la Provincia de Talamanca." 1697.

"Cartas sobre el caracter de los Indios Terrabas, Talamancas, y Changuenes."

FRAY PEDRO DE URTIAGA. "Diario del Viaje de los cinco Misioneros desde Querétaro hasta Guatemala."—Printed in 1694, at Guatemala.

ALONZO DUARTE. "Relacion de lo que Yo (A. D.) vecino desta ciudad de Santiago de Guatemala entendí y vide quando D. Francisco Val-

verde vino a sondar el puerto de Cavallos." 1605. MS. pertaining to E. G. Squier.

These are certainly not all,—perhaps only a minority of the documents relating to Guatemala,—which originated during the 17th century. In regard to the ruins of Copán,—Fuentes is perhaps (because a number of the last enumerated authors I have not seen) the only one who mentions its ruins, and even gives an enthusiastic description of them,—but Torquemada as well as Herrera relates the tradition of Comizahual, which also relates to Copán. The latter place is, besides, commonly regarded as belonging properly to *Honduras*, and only of late has been added to Guatemala. I add the following, although they are of scarcely any value for the purpose in view:

JOSÉ MONROY. "Estado del Convento de Guatemala, del Orden de nuestra Señora de la Merced." Printed, 1667.

DIEGO RODRIGUEZ DE RIBAS. "Disertacion canónica sobre los justos motivos que representa el Reyno de Guatemala, para que el Consejo se acerva de erigir en Metrópoli eclesiástica la S. Iglesia Catedral, &c." Printed, 1660.

Writers of the Eighteenth Century.

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO.

F. X. CLAVIGERO. (Very slight mention.)

The following MSS. are yet at Guatemala "Museo Nacional."

PEDRO CORTÉS Y LARRAZ. "Descripción geográfico moral de la Diócesis de Guatemala." 1768-69.

FRAY FRANCISCO XIMENEZ. "Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala de la Orden de los Predicadores." 5 vols.

JOSÉ SANCHEZ. "Apuntaciones para la Historia de Guatemala."

FERNANDO VELASQUEZ DE GUZMAN. "Relacion de los Obispos de Guatemala."

There is, besides, a MS.:

"Efemérides de Guatemala desde su fundacion hasta la ruina de 1773."

—Anonymous.

Printed works:

FRAY ISIDRO FÉLIX DE ESPINOSA. "El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante." (Life of Fray Antonio Margil.) México, 1737.

FRAY CARLOS CADENA. "Breve descripción de la Noble Ciudad de Santlago de los Caballeros de Guatemala, &c." Mexico, 1774.—2d Edition, Guatemala, 1858.

JUAN DE VILLAGUTIERRE Y SOTOMAYOR. (On Vera Paz.)

FRANCISCO NUÑEZ DE LA VEGA. (On Chiapas.)

TORIBIO COSIO. (In the University Library of Mexico.)

FRAY JOSÉ DIEZ. "Noticia de las Misiones de Guatemala."

FRAY ILDEFONSO JOSEPH FLORES. "Teología de los Indios."

FRAY FRANCISCO VASQUEZ. (See Chiapas.)

FRAY FRANCISCO XIMENEZ. (See Chiapas.)

It is said that Ximenez wrote two large historical works, one in five volumes, of which but three were finished.—This is a mistake, the entire edition of five volumes is still at Guatemala. The other work, secured by Dr. Scherzer, bears the title "*Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala . . .*," and published by him at Vienna in 1857. (Anonymous MS. said to exist at Guatemala.)

"Informe del Provincial de la Orden de Santo Domingo Guatemala, tocante á los negocios de la Vera-Paz." 1724.

"Relacion de la Sublevacion de los Zendales." 1712.

ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ CAMPAS. "*Diario Histórico de Guatemala.*"

FRAY JUAN CARTAJENA. "*La St^a Iglesia de Guatemala, madre fecundísima de hijos ilustrísimos.*" México, 1747.

RAMON ORDOÑEZ Y AGUIAR. (See Chiapas.) At Mexico.

(A number of the above works may be lost.)

Writers of the Nineteenth Century.

All general works, archæological, historical, and geographical, are left out. I even omit, as abundantly known, Kingsborough, Bancroft, Baldwin, Short, the "*Antiquités Méxicaines*," the "*Cités et Ruines Méxicaines*" of Waldeck,—Brasseur de Bourbourg, &c., &c.—Reference to these sources is self-understood.

DOMINGO JUARREZ. "*Compendio de la Historia de Guatemala.*" 1808-1818, Guatemala. (Relies too much on Fuentes.) English translation by Bailey. London, 1823. "*A statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala, in Spanish America.*"—A second Spanish edition appeared in 1857.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA GARCIA PELAEZ. (See Chiapas.).

"*Memorias para la Historia del Antiguo Reyno de Guatemala.*" 1852.

CHARLES ETIENNE BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "*Popol Vuh. Le livre Sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine, avec les livres Héroïques et Historiques des Quichés.*" Paris, 1861.

Hardly any work of this century has created such a "mixed" sensation of a serious nature, as this book.—It could be seen at a glance, that no mystification was possible,—but there was a wide field open for discussion on the point of origin, as far as the document itself, the "*Popol Vuh*," was concerned.—Still the "sensation" has not resulted in much active critical examination, and I think (If I may be permitted to commit such a breach of modesty,) myself the only person attempting a criticism of the "*Popol Vuh*" on the basis of documentary evidence. Unfortunately, I was unable to prepare my annotations in time for the publication of the 27th Volume of Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1878.—

Thus only the text of "Sources for aboriginal history of Spanish America," appeared without any documentary evidence attached.

One thing is evident, that the "Popol Vuh" was *written*. Now it is a fact very easily proven, that the aborigines of Guatemala had no phonetic alphabet whatever, consequently *that they did not write*.—Therefore the "Popol Vuh" must have been composed, as an instrument in writing, since the conquest; or after 1524.—This is developed utterly independent of the fact that the document hints at two data (p. 343,) indicating the time of its composition to have been after 1550, and prior to 1600.—Therefore it was written in our letters, or perhaps with the aid of the "five characters" invented by Fray Francisco de la Parra, previous to 1560, to indicate sounds for which our alphabet had no signs.—At all events, it was written in the native Quiché idiom, and was only met with incidentally by Fray Francisco Ximenez at the town of Chichicastenango, towards the close of the 17th century.—This Dominican monk translated it into the Spanish language and incorporated both text and translation in the first volume of his "Historia de la provincia de predicadores, &c."—according to Brasseur de Bourbourg's really silly and irritatingly confused bibliography—(p. XIII., "Notice Bibliographique.") Dr. Scherzer certainly deserves credit for having published a Spanish text rendering approximatively the "Popol Vuh," in 1857, and there is no doubt but that it is as correct a rendering of the original Quiché as the French translation of Brasseur de Bourbourg.

The filiation of the text being thus established as far back as 1550 to 1600, it remains to investigate the question: how much of it was originally Indian;—if all of it or not? There is no doubt but that the greater part of it is Indian songs, preserved for centuries, and Indian myths and tales—historical traditions—which were recorded by the compiler in the form now before us. But this compiler, or rather—recorder—has given to these tales a chronological sequence,—at least in the first part,—which may hereafter prove conjectural.—Actions are made to succeed to each other, which may yet prove to be without any connection at all.—I do not insist upon this point—since a new translation of the "Popol Vuh" should precede its investigation—but I particularly insist upon a careful and critical study of its first so-called "Chapters."

These first chapters give us cosmological Ideas and Notions, purporting to be originally Indian, which, at their very inception, show a singular admixture of foreign elements. The first sentences appear to be transcriptions from the book of Genesis. They are not aboriginally American.—We are therefore led to investigate whether, prior to 1550, European influences could have been brought to bear upon the recollection and the imagination of the natives.—There is very positive evidence to that effect.—The monks, at the earliest stages of conversion, used paintings of their own, to impress upon the natives the notions of a creation of the world, of the deluge and salvation of a single pair therefrom, &c., &c.—The Dominican Father Gonzalo Lucero travelled about with painted charts representing such striking events, which he displayed in

confirmation of his teachings. Fray Jacobo Testera (he died Aug. 8, 1543) used similar means. Fray Pedro de Angulo, who went with Las Casas to Guatemala and was made Provincial of Chiapas in 1561, wrote three dissertations in the Zutuhil language, one on the Creation of the World, one on Adam's Fall, and one on the Expulsion of our first fathers from Paradise.—Fray Luis Cancer wrote similar pages in the language of Oajaca, previous to 1546.—Fray Domingo Vico, who was killed by the Indians of Lacandon, in 1555, wrote his "Teologia para los Indios," in the Quiché language, also a dissertation on the "Eternal Paradise," in the language of Vera-Paz.—But there is also indisputable proof that *songs were composed on the subject of the creation of the world and other parts of the Hebrew Genesis, in the Quiché language, which songs were used as the means of conversion of the natives of Vera-Paz in 1537.* (Remesal. Lib. III., Cap. XI., p. 124.) They had been composed by Las Casas, Fray Rodrigo de Ladrada, Fray Pedro de Angulo, and probably Fray Luis Cancer. Many other similar ones were composed afterwards.

Thus we see that, prior to 1550, ecclesiastics had commenced to write upon cosmological subjects with our letters and in the languages of Guatemala, and that, on the other hand, Christian cosmogony had become a text for Indian songs. The "Popol Vuh" has therefore nothing extraordinary in its origin; it is but a child of its time, like the "Memorial de Tecpan-Atitlan," by the Chief of Sololá, only anonymous,—and preceded by a cosmological introduction made up of Christian and Indian tales confusedly intermingled, and therefore apocryphal so far. These criticisms, however, apply merely to the "first part,"—the rest of the "Popol Vuh" appears to be original, and therefore of the greatest value. This however cannot be said of the translation, only of the MS. A new translation, supervised by a native, should be obtained at any price.

"Grammaire Quiché, et le Drame Rabinal-Aché." Paris, 1862.

Of the "Rabinal-Aché," a new translation is absolutely requisite. Mr. Brasseur, like all translators of Indian songs, has so disfigured it by the introduction of a foreign terminology, as to render it useless for any one who has no access to vocabularies, &c.

JOHN L. STEPHENS. (See Yucatan), also FREDERICK CATHERWOOD.

JUAN GALINDO. (See Yucatan and Chiapas.)

What I have seen of his reports has left upon my mind the impression that he means to be truthful, but in his zeal and eagerness saw "too big," and again "too often."

"The Ruins of Copan in Central America." Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. II., pp. 545-550. 1836.

"Notions sur Palenque," &c., &c., "transmises à la Société géographique de France," in "Antiquités mexicaines," Vol. I., pp. 73-76.—Pub-

ished also in the "Bulletin" of the French Geographical Society. and in the "Literary Gazette" of London.

H. G. SQUIER. "The Serpent-Symbol, and the Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature in America." N. York, 1851.

"The States of Central America: their Geography, Topography. &c., &c. Aborigines." N. York, 1858.

"Notes on Central América, particularly the States of Honduras and San Salvador." N. York, 1856.—German translation. Leipzig. 1856. French version, Paris, 1855.—Spanish, Paris, 1856, (two different translations.)

"Honduras, Descriptive, Historical and Statistical." London, 1870.

"Honduras and Guatemala." "The National Intelligencer." N. York, 1854.

"The Ruins of Tonampua." Although in Honduras, they appear traditionally connected with Copan. N. York, 1853, in "Proceedings of the Historical Society of New York."

"Monograph of Authors who have Written on the Languages of Central America." Albany, 1861.—A very valuable and important contribution to bibliography.

CARL SCHERZER. "Wanderungen durch die mittel-amerikanischen Prästauten." Braunschweig, 1857.—English version, London, 1857.

"Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian frigate Novara." London, 1861. (The official reports on the results of the circumnavigation, &c., are very rare.)

"Die Indianer von Ixtahuacan." Vienna, 1856.

"Ein Besuch bei den Ruinen von Quirigua." Vienna, 1855.

I omit here his linguistic writings, and his publication of the "Historia del Origen de los Indios, &c.," in 1857.—See Ximenez.

MORITZ WAGNER, AND CARL SCHERZER. "Die Republik Costa-Rica in Central Amerika." Leipzig, 1857.—Describes the ruins of Quirigua.

MANUEL GALVAN RIVERA. "Historia de México, Guatemala, Estados Unidos del Norte, Perú, &c." México, 1852.

"GACETA DE GUATEMALA." (From 1797.) Contains interesting notices, historical and ethnological.

"PERIODICO DE LA SOCIEDAD ECONOMICA DE GUATEMALA." (Only 24 numbers published in 1815 and 1816.) 1 May, 1815, to 15 April, 1816.

THE PADRES: CHICA, ABELLA, AND ESCOTO, AND AGUILAR. "Informes, al Ill'mo Señor Arzobispo de Guatemala, tocantes á la Vera-Paz." 1819 and 1820. MSS.

DOMINGUEZ DE MAZARIEGOS. (See Chlapas.)

DOMINGO FAJARDO. "Informe dirigido al Gobierno Supremo de México, relativo á su Mision á Vera-Paz y Peten." Campeche, 1828.

ORLANDO N. ROBERTS. "Narrative of Voyages and Excursions on the East Coast and in the Interior of Central America." Edinburgh, 1827.

CARL HERMANN BERENDT. "Report of Explorations in Central America." Smithsonian Report, 1867.

"Collection of historical documents on Guatemala." Smithsonian Report, 1876.

"Die Indianer des Isthmus von Tehuantepec."—*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Berlin, 1873, Vol. V.

"*Analytical Alphabet* for the Mexican and Central American Languages." Published by the American Ethnological Society. New York, 1869.

"*Cartilla en Lengua Maya* para la enseñanza de los niños indigenes." Mérida, 1871.

El Ramie. Tratado sobre el cultivo y algunas noticias de esta planta. Mérida de Yucatan, 1871. (Ed. de la Revista de Mérida.)

Los Escritos de D. Joaquín García Icazbalceta. Ed. de la Revista de Mérida. Tomo II., 1870.

"*Artículo sobre El México*;" se halla en el "Deutsch Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon, bearbeitet von Prof. Alex. I. Schem. Lieferung 64, Band VII., Seite 261, pp. 27. (N. Y. 1872.)

"*R marks on the Centres of Ancient Civilization in Central America, and their Geographical Distribution*." Address read before the Am. Geogr. Society, N. Y., July 10th, 1876, with map.

Zur Ethnologie von Nicaragua. Artículo publicado en *Correspondenz-Blatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*. Redigirt von N. A. v. Frantzius in Heidelberg, No. 9, September, 1874.

In "Geographische Mittheilungen" von A. Petermann, Gotha.

(The above makes no pretension to be a full list of the eminent linguist's publications.)

ALEXANDER VON FRANTZIUS. (See Palacio.)

"San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre, 1847."—Annotated also by Berendt.

GUSTAV BERNOULLI. "Reisen in der Republik Guatemala."—In "Petermann's Mittheilungen," 1874-75.

BARON DER THEIL. "Le Guatemala." In "l'Explorateur," Vol. III. 1876.

J. LAFERRIER. "De Paris au Guatemala." Paris, 1877.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON. "Antiquities in Guatemala." *Smithsonian Reports*, 1876. (Very interesting and of great value for archaeological studies.)

J. W. BODDAM-WETHAM. "Across Central America." London, 1877.

ADOLPH BASTIAN. "Die Monumenta in Santa Lucia Cozumalguapa."—"Zeltschrift für Ethnologie," 1876.

"Die Culturländer des alten Amerikas." (See Yucatan.)

GUSTAV BRÜHL. (See Yucatan.)

H. W. BATES. "Central America, West Indies, and South America." London, 1878.

A. BONCARD. "Le Guatémala."—In "L'explorateur," 1878. No. 23.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. (See Yucatan and Chiapas.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. (See Yucatan, &c.)

S. HABEL. "The Sculptures of Santa Lucia Cozumalguapa."—*Smithsonian Contributions*, No. 269.—Washington, 1878.

In closing this list, I must again distinctly state, that it is very imperfect,—and that no one acquainted with the literature of Central America can fail to notice many omissions.—But I had neither time, nor opportunity to do better, owing to the state of my health. In conclusion, I wish to advert to a few books of an exclusively bibliographical tenor, which every student of American history must at least attempt to consult.—Some of them are, unfortunately, extremely rare:

NICOLÁS ANTONIO. "Bibliotheca Hispana Nova, &c." 1st edition, Rome, 1672. 2d edition, Madrid, 1733–38.

JUAN JOSÉ DE EGUIARA Y EGUREN. "Biblioteca Mexicana." México, 1755. Incomplete: only the first volume published.

ANTONIO DE ALCEDO. "Biblioteca americana." MS. Original belonged to Mr. Jared Sparks. México, 1807.

J. MARIANO BÉRISTAIN DE SOUZA. "Biblioteca Hispana Americana. Septentrional." México, 1816 and 1819, 3 volumes. (Exceedingly rare.)

BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG. "Bibliothèque méxico-guatemaliennue." Paris, 1871.

I forbear quoting here at length the bibliographical works of Harris, Rich, Ludewig, Ternaux-Compans, Sabin, and others.—They are deservedly well known, and of easy access to any student.

OAJACA. ("Huaxyacac.")*Writers of the Sixteenth Century.***HERNAN CORTÉS.** (2d letter.)**BERNAL DIEZ DEL CASTILLO.** (Casual notice.)**FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA.** ("Conquista de México.")

FRAY TORIBIO DE PARADES, SURNAMED MOTOLINIA. ("Historia de los Indios de la Nueva-España." See bibliography of Yucatan.)—This is probably the earliest mention of the ruins of Mitla, which were, however, inhabited at that time. Motolinia has been entirely overlooked by Bancroft, although his description of Mitla is truly excellent.

GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS. (Casual notice.)

CODEx CHIMALPOPOCA. Now in process of publication, in the "Anales del Museo Nacional de México." Vol. II., by Mendoza, Sanchez Solís, and Chavero.

JUAN DE TOBAR. "Código Ramirez,"—published by S^r J. M. Vigil, as an anonymous chronicle, in 1878. Also "Historia de los Indios Mexicanos." Original in possession of the Estate of Sir Thomas Phillips, at Cheltenham, England. Copy of a fragment, privately printed, at the Lenox Library, New York. (Written between 1579 and 1589.)

DIEGO DURÁN. "Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España, é Yslas de Tierra firme."—(Written between 1579 and 1581, but only the first part of it printed, at Mexico, 1867, by S^r José F^r Ramirez.)—Very important; mentions again Mitla as a settlement inhabited about 1450. "Apéndice" por Alfredo Chavero, México, 1880.

FERNANDO DE ALVARADO TEZOZOMOC. "Crónica mexicana."—Written 1598. Printed for the first time in Vol. IX. of Kingsborough, and again (though not complete) in the "Biblioteca mexicana" of S^r Vigil, with notes by S^r Orozco y Berra.—A French translation has been made by Ternaux-Compans, under the title of "Histoire du Mexique, par Alvarado Tezozomoc," Paris, 1853, 2 vols. It is utterly unreliable.

FRAY GERÓNIMO DE MENDIETA. (Copies textually from Motolinia.)

FRAY BERNARDINO SAHAGUN. "Historia universal de las Cosas de Nueva-España," in Vols. 6 and 8 of Kingsborough.—The same book, under the title of "Historia general, &c., &c." appeared at Mexico, in 3 vols., 1829, edited by C. M. de Bustamante. Only very slight and casual mention of Oajaca.

*Writers of the Seventeenth Century.***AUGUSTIN DÁVILA-PADILLA.****JUAN DE TORQUEMADA.** (Important.)**ANTONIO DE HERRERA.** (Important.)

GREGORIO GARCIA. (Important.)

FRANCISCO DE BURGOA. "*Palestra Historiale de Virtudes y Exemplares Apostólicos.*" México, 1670.

"*Geográfica Descripción de la Parte Septentrional del Polo Artico de la América.*" México, 1674. This work is regarded (especially by such as have not seen it), as the leading work on Oajaca.—I have never even seen it—it is exceedingly rare.

Writers of the Eighteenth Century.

MARIANO VEYLLA.

F. X. CLAVIGERO.

ANTONIO DE ALCKO.

LORENZO BOTURINI BERNADUCCI.

JOSEPH JOAQUIN GRANADOS Y GALVEZ. "*Tardes americanas.*" México, 1778. A work considerably over-estimated,—containing casual mention of Oajaca,—fluently written.

Writers of the Nineteenth Century.

I forbear mentioning here *all* the writers on Oajaca,—more particularly avoiding all the general works,—those excepted which contain plates of special value. The first who called attention to Mitla was certainly

ALEXANDER VON HUMHOLDT. "*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique.*" Paris, 1810. Royal folio.—Same, 2 vols. 8^o Paris, 1816. English version, by Helen M. Williams, London, 1814.

"*Essai politique sur la Nouvelle-Espagne.*" (See "*Yucatan.*")

MATHEU DE FOSSEY. "*Le Mexique.*" Paris, 1857.—Very fair.

EDUARD MCHLENFORDT. "*Versuch einer getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mejico.*" Hannover, 1844. 2 vols.

ARTHUR VON TEMPSKY. "*Mitla, a Narrative of Incidents and Personal Adventures.*" London, 1858.—Of small scientific value.

GUILLERMO DUPAIX, AND CASTAÑEDA. (In "*Antiquités Méxicaines,*" also in Lord Kingsborough's "*Antiquities of Mexico.*")

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY. (Saw the ruins in 1859. His photographs are very important.)

JOSÉ MARIA GARCIA. (Visited Mitla in 1853, according to "*Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística.*" Vol. VII., pp. 271 and 272.)

BRANTZ-MAYER. "Mexico as it Was and as it Is." New York, 1844. Very fair.

"Mexico, Aztec, Spanish and Republican." Hartford, 1853. Very good.

"Observations on Mexican History and Archæology." (Smithsonian Contributions. No. 86, Washington, 1856.) Contains Sawkins' drawings of Mitla. [?]

J. W. VON MÜLLER. "Beitrage zur Geschichte und Ethnographie von Mexico." Leipzig, 1865.

"Reisen in den Vereinigten-Staaten, Canada, and Mexico." Leipzig, 1864.

CARLOS MARIA DE BUSTAMANTE. "Memoria estadística de Oajaca, y descripcion del Valle del mismo nombre." Vera-Cruz, 1821.

MURGUIA. "Estadística antigua y moderna de la Provincia de Guajaca." "Boletín, &c." Vol. II.)

JUAN B. CARRIEDO. The writings of this author are, unfortunately, but little known.—In the "Ilustracion Mexicana," Vol. II., he has given an essay on "Los Palacios Antiguos de Mitla."—But he has published other papers and even books on the same subject.

"Estudios históricos, y estadísticos del estado Oaxaqueño." Oajaca, 1850.

The Astor Library of New York has an incomplete copy of a work of Carriedo on Oajaca, with colored drawings by him,—unfinished. Copious notes by the author's own hand accompany the text. In historical questions Carriedo mostly follows and cites Burgoa.

FRANCISCO PIMENTEL. "Cuadro descriptivó de las Lenguas Indígenas de México." (See Yucatan and Chiapas.)

MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. In "Geografía de las Lenguas."—Reference is made to a number of very important papers on Oajaca, the title of one, among others, "Estado que comprende el número de Parroquias de la Diócesis de Oajaca, con expresion de sus nombres, Estado ó Territorio en que están situadas, número de pueblos, &c., &c."

Further, certain official reports are quoted,—the originals of which are in the hands of my friend Sr J. G. Icazbalceta.—Sr Orozco mentions the following:

PEDRO DE LEDESMA. "Relacion de Oajaca, por el alcalde . . ." 1579.

HERNANDO DE CERVANTES. "Relacion de Teotzacualco y Amoltepec. . . ." 1580.

AUGUSTIN DE SALAZAR. "Relacion del vicario de Chllapa."

JUAN LOPEZ. "Relacion del Corregidor . . ." 1579.

Finally, I must call attention to a linguistical work, known to me only through S^r Orozco y Berra's citation, and through references given by S^r Pimentel—to wit:

ANTONIO DE LOS REYES. "Arte en lengua mixteca." México, 1593.

Numerous grammars, vocabularies, "doctrinas," sermonaries, &c., &c., were written in the course of the 16th century, of and in the language of Oajaca.

EMILIO HÉRBRÜGER. "Album de vistas fotográficas de las antiguas Ruinas de los Palacios de Mitla." Oaxaca, 1875. Text and valuable photographs.

In conclusion, I would merely beg to add,—that there can hardly be any doubt as to the fact that Mitla was *inhabited* when the Spaniards first visited the place. It therefore becomes a point of special interest.

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 27TH, 1881, AT THE HALL OF
THE ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., in the
chair.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., read the report of the Council.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Assistant-Librarian, made a
report upon the Library, and Mr. PAINE submitted the
report of the Treasurer.

In the report of the Council, the Society was informed
that SAMUEL FOSTER HAVEN, LL.D., had felt compelled
through age and infirmity to ask to be relieved from the
cares and responsibilities of the office of Librarian. Dr.
HAVEN's letter and the action thereon will appear in the
report of the Council.

After the reading of the report of the Council had been
concluded Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., offered the
following resolution :

Resolved, That the members of the American Antiquarian
Society will heartily recognize the considerateness and the
grateful sense of high obligation which the council have
manifested in accepting the resignation of Dr. Haven, so
far only as it relieves him of the tasks and responsibilities
of the office which he has so long filled and adorned with
such fidelity, dignity and conspicuous ability,—giving to it
such rare qualities and accomplishments.

Dr. ELLIS, in moving the adoption of the resolution,
said :

For thirty-four of the forty-three years of his admirably

faithful and intelligent service of the Society [are] with a number of it, and with few exceptions have attended its meetings here in each year. One of the great attractions of each meeting in advance was that which would result from the collection in hearing Dr. Haven occasionally offer the report of the Council, and always that of the Treasurer. Those who after two or three attendances on the season had come to understand what they had to expect from it, were abundantly gratified and instructed by these singularly collected and eminently characteristic papers. Always fitted, appropriate to his province, they were wonderfully lucid and discursive, with surprises of knowledge, and all in a rich and kindling humor wrought in with their beauty.

I have thoughtfully run through the seventy odd pamphlets which have been published, containing the Proceedings of the Society, at its semi-annual meetings, and have reviewed the pleasant remembrances of the wonderfully varied papers which I have heard Dr. Haven read here and at Worcester. They contain both rich and instructive matter on such themes as the following: American Archaeology and Exploration; the Indian Antiquities; Mound Builders; Dighton Rock; the Aurochs in each Period in the Old World; Lake Dwellings; the Stone Age and Flint Implements; the Improvement of the East of Massachusetts; Tribute to Humboldt; Account of the Founder of the Society, his services during the Revolution as printer, archivist of printing and collector; the Characters and Writings of the Mathers; the Bentley Library; Dr. Bentley's Papers; Broudsides; the Literature of the Civil War; Examination of the Popham Colony; Our Early Magazine Literature; and Lost Historical Papers. A very remarkable volume of Monographs might be gathered from these learned materials.

His familiarity with the contents of our rich and unique library, its books, manuscripts, relics, maps, coins, portraits and other pictures has been so extended and intelligent, that

we might well conceive of him as permanently seated at his patient desk, with an out-look on its walls and shelves and making a catalogue of its treasures. Its collections have so largely grown under his administration, that he has had opportunity to form a deliberate acquaintance with them. He has twice, indeed, superintended the disposal of the whole on shelves, in the alcoves and in the cabinet—once on the removal from the old hall, and again, on the enlargement of the present one. Now that so admirable a portrait of him hangs on the wall, he will never be otherwise than present and active there, at least, to all who are now members of the society.

The same day which thus compels us to recognize an arrest in our enjoyment of the familiar presence and the welcome instruction of our much valued Librarian—though we still cling to him in his retirement—informs us of the decease from the infirmities of old age, of the most eminent and accomplished of the historians of New England, the Reverend and Honored John Gorham Palfrey. It is not now for the first time, nor will it be for the last time, that the names of our living and our departed friends come to us associated together. They have been fellow-laborers and mutual helpers. Alike they have been inspired and guided by the same spirit of fidelity and thoroughness in historical research, the same friendly regard for all who desired their aid and advice in study, the same thoroughness and impartiality in their treatment of controverted subjects, and the same judicial fairness in their decisions. Dr. Palfrey waited for and welcomed the end of his protracted, well-filled and benedictive life. To the few friends who were admitted to him in these last declining years, he exhibited the same sweet serenity of spirit, and the same dignified force of character, that marked his period of full vigor.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

On motion of CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., the reports were

accepted, and referred to the committee of publication, and on motion of Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, the thanks of the society were voted to Dr. Ellis for his remarks.

The Recording Secretary then presented the names of the following gentlemen, who were nominated for membership of the society by the council :

Prof. HERBERT B. ADAMS, of Baltimore, Md.

AD. F. BANDELIER, Esq., of Highland, Illinois.

Señor ALFREDO CHAVERO, of Mexico, Mex.

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES, of Boston, Mass.

Señor JOAQUIN GARCIA ICAZBALCETA, of Mexico, Mex.

Señor GUMESINDO MENDOZA, of Mexico, Mex.

Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, of Athens, Greece.

Prof. JOHN T. SHORT, of Columbus, Ohio.

By a separate ballot on each name, all the above named were elected members of the society.

The Hon. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, LL.D., read a paper on the History of the Constitution of Massachusetts, which was referred to the Committee of Publication, on motion of Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., with an expression of the thanks of the society to the author.

The thanks of the society were also voted to Dr. PH. J. J. VALENTINI, for his paper on certain curiously wrought stones, models of which he exhibited, and the paper referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., spoke of Coronado's discovery of the Seven Cities, reading extracts from a letter from Lt. John G. Bourke, U. S. A., illustrating the same, and on motion of the Recording Secretary his remarks were also referred to the Committee of Publication.¹

¹ The papers of Gov. BULLOCK, Dr. VALENTINI, and Dr. HALE's remarks in full, with extracts from Lieut. BOURKE's letter, are printed on succeeding pages.

Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON said :

It will be remembered that at the annual meeting, Senator HOAR presented to the society a piece of one of the first set of mill-stones used in Worcester County. Those stones were brought to Lancaster, as the legend runs, by John Prescott, the founder of the town, from some distant place, and it is a matter of some interest to find the parent mass. At Mr. HOAR's request I have made diligent inquiry and fail to find any quarry in Massachusetts from which this stone could have been taken. It is a gneiss to be sure, but so hard and so porphyritic in structure as to be unlike our native gneisses. The only alternative seemed to be that Prescott brought the stone from England. To assure myself on this point, I wrote to Dr. Archibald Geikie, Professor of Geology in the University of Edinburgh, and Chief of the Geological Survey of Scotland, for his opinion, and sent him a large piece of the stone.

Dr. Geikie's reply was prompt and full. He is of opinion that the stone is not English and that the parent mass will be found in Massachusetts. 'Unless, indeed, it was an erratic block from some more Northern source.' The last suggestion seems to contain a solution of the problem.

There is a piece of Burr-stone in the cabinet of the Free Institute at Worcester, which is said to have been found in Sutton. This sort of stone has been extensively quarried elsewhere for mill-stones, and it is an interesting inquiry whether any have ever been obtained from Sutton.

THE PRESIDENT. Is it probable that there were any persons in Lancaster, in 1654, able to cut this stone?

Dr. THOMPSON. The stone is not too hard to be cut by an ordinary stone-mason, and such a man could have been found in the colony.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., presented a communication from Dr. AUGUSTUS LE PLONGEON, dated Mérida,

Yucatan, Jan. 16. Mr. SALISBURY said at this late hour he could not read the paper in full, and as it is carefully worded, containing numerous references to ancient and modern authorities, any abstract he might attempt would fail to do it justice. The communication was therefore, with the thanks of the society, referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

For fifty years, the by-laws of the society have required, that the council should, "twice at least in each year," communicate to the members a statement of its affairs. In accordance with this time-honored regulation, the council herewith submit their semi-annual report, shewing the present condition, and the more important transactions of the society since the annual meeting in October last.

First, they express the great regret, which will be shared by all, that our honored Librarian, Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., is prevented by illness from being present at our meeting to-day.

His absence deprives the society of the pleasure they have been accustomed to enjoy at these gatherings, of listening to one of those admirable papers which, under the name of "reports of the Librarian," have been presented by Dr. Haven. These papers, full of sound learning, expressed in concise and graceful language, have added largely to the interest of our published proceedings, and done much to increase the reputation of the society at home and abroad.

It is with still greater regret, that the council have to communicate the unpleasant intelligence, that owing to the present condition of his health, Dr. Haven has felt obliged to ask to be relieved from his official duties. For forty-three years the society has enjoyed the valuable services of its Librarian, which have been rendered most cheerfully, and for but a nominal pecuniary consideration. Few of the members, outside the council, are aware of the many personal sacrifices made by him, in his desire to

extend the influence of the society and to add to its collections. The council have accepted the communication upon this subject from Dr. Haven, with great reluctance, but at the same time felt it to be their duty to do everything in their power that would tend to aid in his restoration to health.

The letter of Dr. Haven to the council announcing his resignation was as follows:—

WORCESTER, Mass'tts, *March 29th, 1881.*

To the President and Council of the

American Antiquarian Society.

Dear and Honored Sirs.—At the close of the present month my relation to the society as its librarian will have extended through the period of forty-three years without interruption, and with no renewal of the original election.

I feel that age and infirmity have brought to a natural termination my chances of usefulness in that position, and require relief from its cares and responsibilities.

I beg therefore most respectfully, and with a deep sense of the unvaried kindness of each and all of you, to place my resignation in your hands.

S. F. HAVEN.

The council were unanimous in their desire that some arrangement might be made by which Dr. Haven's official connection with the society should not be completely severed. With this end in view, and after due consideration of his letter, the following votes offered by the President were adopted:—

Voted, that the council receive with sentiments of gratitude for the past, and anxiety for the future, the letter in which Dr. Samuel F. Haven resigns the office of librarian at the end of a service of forty-three years, in which he has increased the efficiency, not less than the size, of the library, and has elevated the character of the society by his extensive and accurate historical learning, and his graceful and instructive writings.

Voted, that the council accept this resignation of Dr. Haven with deep regret, and with the hope that relief from the cares of the office may promote the restoration of his health, and

may prolong the obvious advantages of his official relation to the society.

Voted, that Dr. Haven is requested to accept the honorary position of Librarian Emeritus, and to give the library his beneficial presence, when his health and engagements shall permit.

Voted, that the council consider with deep feeling our personal privation in the withdrawal of an associate and friend, who has been an example, a guide and support, in all our duties to this society.

Voted, that a copy of these votes shall be presented to Dr. Haven.

It is understood that this arrangement will be very satisfactory and agreeable to Dr. Haven, and it certainly will be a cause of congratulation that we can continue to avail ourselves of his most valuable advice and suggestions.

In the absence of the librarian, our efficient Assistant-Librarian, Mr. Edmund M. Barton, will present a general statement of the work done in the library the past six months, with a detailed list of the additions made to the library and cabinet.

It will be seen by his statement, that the accessions since the annual meeting in October last, have been six hundred and eighty-five books, fifty-seven hundred and thirty-seven pamphlets, one hundred and four files of unbound newspapers, five hundred and thirty-eight charts and maps, besides photographs, prints and articles for the cabinet.

Of this number, four hundred books, five thousand five hundred and forty pamphlets, one hundred and four files of unbound newspapers, five hundred and thirty-one charts and maps, fifty-four photographs and prints, and one manuscript were gifts. Twenty-one local histories have been bought from the income of the Thomas Fund, and three books were purchased at the sale of the Brinley library, from the income of the Davis Fund.

It may be mentioned, that among the gifts from members of the Society, are several publications of their own author-

ship. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop has presented his "Memorial of Henry Clay;" and Hon. Peleg W. Chandler, his "Memoir of Gov. John A. Andrew."

From Col. Charles Whittlesey we have received his "Early History of Cleveland, Ohio," and Adml. Geo. H. Preble has presented his paper on "The Mariner's Compass."

Mr. James F. Hunnewell sends us his "Bibliography of Charlestown and Bunker Hill;" and Dr. Sam'l A. Green, "The Early Records of Groton, Mass, from 1662-1707," edited by him, with valuable notes. From Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Esq., we have received several copies of the private edition of his "Central American Papers." Others are mentioned in the statement of the Assistant-Librarian.

From the sale of the third part of the Brinley Library, which took place in New York, early the present month, we have received one hundred and sixty-four books and six pamphlets. The books thus received, were largely biographical and genealogical, and will prove a valuable addition to our collections in those departments. The society were represented by Mr. Barton, who indicated by his bids the volumes desired under the generous gift of the heirs of our late associate, George Brinley, Esq. His report will show more in detail the nature of the accessions from this source.

At the closing sale of the library, which it is expected will take place within a few months, the society will have a credit of about one thousand dollars. This will enable us to add to our library many more valuable volumes, in addition to those already received under the satisfactory plan pursued by the heirs of Mr. Brinley, in making their liberal gift to the society.

The general administration of the library has been well cared for by Mr. Barton, the Assistant-Librarian, aided by Mr. Reuben Colton, the last named gentleman, having besides his ordinary duties, had the oversight, under the direction of Mr. Salisbury, Jr., of the preparations for a

card catalogue. Mr. Barton continues the exchanges with other libraries and institutions, thus adding much new material to our collections by a judicious use of our duplicates.

The new room for our bound newspapers, containing over three thousand five hundred volumes, proves to be none too large for the purpose. It is arranged with suitable tables, convenient for the consultation of the various papers which are easily accessible to the attendants. This arrangement, long looked forward to, and now accomplished through the generosity of the President, has added largely to the value of our newspaper literature as a source of historical information. The society have reason to be proud of this department, and can appreciate the wise policy of the founder in preserving the early journals, now so valuable as memorials of history. A list of the newspapers owned by the society would undoubtedly be of value and prove an efficient aid to those who know and appreciate how much useful information can be obtained from the periodical publications of our country. This however, cannot be hoped for in the present condition of our finances.

The report of the Treasurer, also presented as a part of the report of the council, shows the financial condition of the society to be good, and that the general improvement of business in the country has had a favorable effect upon the income derived from our investments. It may also be stated, that there has been a very marked increase in the market value of the securities belonging to the society. If the various stocks and bonds, reported by the Treasurer at par, were stated at their present market value, the aggregate of the several funds would be increased about six thousand dollars over the sum reported.

Within the past three months the funds of the society have been increased five thousand dollars, by the receipt of a legacy of that amount, from the executors of the will of the late Joseph A. Tenney, of Worcester. This generous

bequest derives additional value, from the fact, that it is free from any encumbrance as to the disposition to be made of it by the society. It is supposed to have been given in gratitude for favors extended many years ago, to a beloved son of the legator, by the librarian and officers of the society.

The son, Henry Allen Tenney, was a young man of much promise, who having an interest in the study and collection of coins and medals, had been introduced to the librarian by a member of the society, that he might examine the cabinet of coins in the library. The gracious kindness and courtesy with which he was received by Dr. Haven, was highly appreciated by the young man, and although he was suddenly removed by accidental death, many years ago, the father has cherished in his memory the attention paid the son, and expressed his appreciation thereof by this generous bequest. Formal notice of the receipt of the legacy, having been given to the council by the President, at a meeting held the 29th of March last, the following resolutions, presented by him were adopted and entered upon the records:

Resolved, That the bequest of Five Thousand dollars, from Mr. Joseph A. Tenney, of Worcester, Mass., deceased, to the American Antiquarian Society, paid over with cordial promptness, by his Executors, Messrs. D. G. Temple and George M. Woodward, is accepted with a grateful recognition of the good will that prompted the gift, which is more gratifying as a testimonial of a generous estimation of the public utility of the society, because his interest was awakened by the facilities in the library enjoyed by a promising son, whose sudden death by casualty embittered with grief and clouded the last years of the life of the father.

Resolved, That the Five Thousand dollars mentioned in the last vote, should be held in perpetuity, and safely and productively invested as the 'Tenney Fund,' and so much of the income thereof as shall be necessary, shall first be used to maintain the original value of the Fund, and the

residue of said income shall be expended for the uses of this society, as the council shall from time to time direct.

The Executors were informed of these votes in a graceful letter from the President, conveying to them the thanks of the society, and their commendation "for the prompt attention and liberality" with which they had accomplished the purposes of Mr. Tenney.

The society have contributed twenty pounds sterling to a fund raised in the United States, under the auspices of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, for the Raleigh Memorial Window, which is to be placed in Old St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where Raleigh was buried. Cannon Farrar, Rector of the Church, was the proposer of the American subscription, which amounted to about two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and was contributed to by the Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Long Island Historical Societies, also by societies in Virginia, Georgia and North Carolina, the Essex Institute and some others, besides our own.

About two hundred pounds was also subscribed by Americans in England. Through the liberality of a member of the society, our contribution was made without drawing upon its funds.

Dr. Haven, in his last report, called the attention of the society, to the importance of a new catalogue of the library, and stated that through the liberality of a member, this desirable result was likely to be accomplished.

The council are happy to report, that the preparations for a card catalogue of the bound volumes, are progressing under the immediate care and at the expense of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, jr., assisted in the general oversight by Mr. Reuben Colton. These preparations consist in having the titles of the volumes in each alcove plainly written upon quarto sheets of paper, with the name of the author, date and place of publication; also the size of the books and number of pages. These sheets will be carefully revised by Mr. Colton, comparison being made with the original title-pages, and

it is the intention of Mr. Salisbury, jr., to use them, after being bound in some simple form, as alcove catalogues. This will give, with the proposed card catalogue, a duplicate list of the books, which will be an additional safeguard from loss. When these sheets are completed, the matter will be transferred to suitable cards, with the added information, as to the alcove and shelf where each volume may be found. In the case of bound pamphlets, the position on the shelf of the volume which contains them, will be indicated. It is also the intention to transfer the bound pamphlets from the main hall to the north ante-room, which arrangement will, without doubt, prove a great convenience. The society are greatly indebted to Mr. Salisbury, jr., for the active interest he has manifested in its prosperity, not only as shown in the promotion of the catalogue, but for his constant exertions in every department to increase and extend its usefulness.

This much needed catalogue of the bound volumes, should be supplemented as soon as possible by a like work upon our valuable collection of manuscripts. The society have a large number of interesting letters and documents, now tied up in packages without any special order or arrangement, and exceedingly inconvenient for study and examination. It should be said that a few years ago a part of the letters and documents were made up into packages, arranged alphabetically, but without chronological or historical sequence.

These should be carefully unfolded, smoothed, and placed in appropriate bound volumes, where they can be consulted with safety to the papers and with convenience to the investigator. This plan of preserving manuscript letters and documents has been tried with success by other societies and institutions, and could be done with comparatively slight expense. If the volumes so prepared, were carefully indexed, and a brief catalogue made of the manuscript volumes in the collection, it would add greatly to their antiquarian

and historical value. When it shall be known to our members and others that we are taking proper care of such material, and making it available for use, it is probable the collection of manuscripts will be largely increased.

The interesting specimens of coins, lately presented by our associate, Senator Hoar, and the fact that additions to the cabinet of coins and medals are from time to time being made, suggest the desirability of their re-arrangement. As now preserved, they are not only kept from the view of the casual visitor to our Hall, but are practically shut off from the inspection of students who may desire to investigate and examine these important historical memorials. It is suggested, that at an early day, an appropriate case be provided and placed in the main hall, in which the more valuable and interesting specimens may be arranged, so that they may be of more practical value than at present. In thus alluding to the importance of a re-arrangement of the manuscripts and coins, it should be stated that both of these departments have received some attention of late, and so far as time and means would permit a beginning has been made in the right direction. What is now desirable is, that the work begun may be carried to a successful completion.

By a vote of the council, it was decided to adopt a new plan in the method of publishing our "Proceedings." Heretofore no attempt has been made to publish them in a form adapted for binding in regular volumes, the members arranging them according to their individual tastes. Beginning with that of the annual meeting in October last, it is proposed to commence a new series of these publications, making with the proceedings of this meeting the first volume, to be supplied with a title page, table of contents and an index. Following out this plan in the future publications, it is believed will render them more acceptable to our members. It is also expected

that at no distant day a complete index to our "Proceedings" will be prepared from the first issue to October, 1880. If this is done it will add greatly to the value of these publications, rendering them much more convenient for consultation.

Among the accessions of the last six months was a manuscript Orderly book of Col. Jonathan Bagley's regiment, Connecticut Provincials, presented by C. A. Miles, Esq., of New York city, through our recording secretary. It was written at the camp at Lake George, then under command of Gen. James Abercrombie, and includes the time from August 20th to September 11th, 1758. One or two extracts from it will give a general idea of its contents.

Gen. Abercrombie had in July made his unsuccessful expedition against Carillon, and immediately after, Gen. John Bradstreet with a detachment of from two to three thousand men had marched to Fort Frontenac and captured it. The capture of Louisburg by the troops under Lord Jeffrey Amherst, assisted by Gen. James Wolfe and Richard Montgomery, had also taken place in July, about a month before this orderly book was commenced.

One of the early entries refers to the last named expedition, and probably indicates about the time the capture was made known to the English army at Lake George. It is as follows :—

"CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE, August 28, 1758.

Parole 'Louisburg.' Field officers for the picquet this night—Maj. Beckwith and Maj. Griswold.

The troops to fire a rejoicing fire this evening for the success of his Majesty's arms in the taking of Louisburg. The regiments to be under arms and line the breastwork at 6 o'clock. The firing to begin with 21 guns from the Royal Artillery, and then from right of the 27th regiment round the line, and to finish with the left of Col. Bagley's regiment. This to be repeated till the whole has fired three rounds. The picquets and guards not to fire but to be formed in the rear of their regiments, the commanding officers of regiments to order a review of their arms at 12 o'clock and the balls to be drawn, and have cartridges without balls to be made up for their rejoicing fire."

August 29th, we have :—

“Parole ‘Parlin.’

For the day to-morrow Col. Halderon,¹ Col. Bagley; field officers this night Lieut. Col. Eyres, Maj. Gage. Maj. Rogers’ Rangers to discharge their pieces this evening between 4 and 6 o’clock.² The Connecticut regiments with the New Hampshire regiments to do the duty of all the provincial troops to-morrow, and the Massachusetts regiments to be mustered on Thursday by Mr. Stoton, Brigade Major of the Provincials, beginning with Col. Preble at 7 o’clock, Col. Wooster at 9, Col. Bagley at 11. Col. Nichols at 4, afternoon.”

September 1st, is the following :—

“Parole ‘Halifax.’ Field officers for the picquets this night—Lieut. [Col.] Eyres, Lieut. Col. Payson. A detachment of 4 subs and 100 Volunteers from the Rangers, the 3 companies of Light Infantry, 100 of Major Rogers’ Rangers, 100 of Col. Partridge’s Rangers, 100 of Connecticut Rangers, to march to-morrow morning at 7 o’clock with 7 days’ provisions, under the command of Capt. Dalyell of the Light Infantry. They are to take the convoy under their escort to the half-way brook. These detachments to be under arms this evening at 4 o’clock on the ground near where the old fort stood. When any prisoner or deserter comes into camp the party of guard that has them in charge is to conduct them directly to headquarters, and not suffer any person whatsoever to ask them questions and no officer to stop or offer to ask questions of any deserter or prisoner on pain of disobeying orders.”³

The gift of this manuscript memorial of the early military history of our country calls to mind others of a like nature in our library, numbering between thirty and forty, and embracing a period from 1758 through the war of 1812.

The orderly books of the Revolutionary war are of special interest, and are valuable as aids to the historian, preserving as they do so largely, the names of officers and men engaged, and the movement of troops. It is suggested that

¹ This should probably be Haldeman, afterwards Governor of Canada.

² This was Robert Rogers of New Hampshire, who entered the service in the French war, and raised a company of Rangers who were renowned for their exploits. He was a loyalist during the revolution, and banished from the country. He died in England early in the present century.

³ Lieut. Col. Eyres was of the 44th regiment of regulars, and Capt. Dalyell of Gage’s Light Infantry.

state is taken at an early day to publish one or more of the orderly books of this period. A few years ago the Massachusetts Historical Society published, under the editorial charge of our associate, Charles C. Smith, Esq., the "Orderly Book of Col. William Henshaw," with valuable notes. This was abstracted from the original manuscript, and covers the period from April 20th to September 26th, 1775. In our own collection are three of Col. Henshaw's orderly books, extending from Oct. 1st, 1775, to August 25th, 1776, which if printed, would be a continuation of that issued by the Historical Society. The first of the Henshaw orderly books in the possession of the society covers the period from Oct. 1st, 1775, to March 12th, and from March 19th, 1776, to March 27th inclusive. The first entry, dated Headquarters, 1st October, 1775, reads as follows:

"Parole Granted. Commanders General."

The colonels and commanding officers of corps are upon application from the Quartermaster-General immediately to comply under his direction all the particulars in their several regiments to erect barracks for the regiments and corps they respect, and having so—Lieut. Cummings of Capt. Lewis's company in the President's Regiment tried at a General Court Martial, where Col. Henshaw was President, for misbehavior at the battle upon Baker's Hill. The Court are unanimously of opinion the prisoner is not guilty of the charge and the complaint appears to the Court groundless and malicious. The General approves the proceedings of the Court and orders Lieut. Cummings to be instantly released from his arrest."

Col. William Henshaw was born in Boston, September 30, 1735; he resided in Leicester, Mass., about 1745. He served as Lieutenant in Gen. Rogers's regiment with the troops under Gen. Amherst in 1759. In 1774 he was Colonel of a regiment of minute-men, and on the night of the 19th of April of that year marched with them to Cambridge. He was made Adjutant General of the troops under Gen. Artemus Ward (the date of his commission being June 27, 1775), but on the arrival of Washington, in July, was superseded by the appointment by the Continental Congress of Gen. Gates. He was Lieut. Col. in Little's Massachusetts regiment at the battle of Long Island. Col. Henshaw represented the town of Leicester in the General Court several years and held other offices of trust. He died in February, 1820, aged 84 years.

October 9th is the following order in relation to negroes :—

“If any negroes are found straggling about the camp, or about any of the roads or villages near the encampments at Roxbury or Cambridge, they are to be seized and confined until sunrise, in the guard nearest to the place where such negroes are taken up.”

This orderly book includes the time of the siege and up to the evacuation of Boston, and has many entries of interest. A few are given here :—

“HEADQUARTERS, 22 October, 1775.

Parole ‘Harrison.’ Countersign ‘Cooke.’

The Deputies from the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress having arrived in this camp in order to confer with the General, the several Governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut, the Council of the Massachusetts Bay and the President of the Convention of New Hampshire, on the continuing an army for the defence and support of America and its liberties; all officers who decline the further service of their country and intend to retire from this army at the expiration of their present term of service, are to signify their intentions in writing, to their Colonel, which he is to deliver with his own, to the Brigadier General, or commanding officer of his Brigade. Those braver men and true patriots, who are resolved to continue to serve and defend their brethren's privileges and property are to consider themselves engaged, to the last day of December, 1776, unless sooner discharged by the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress, and will in like manner signify their intention. This return to be made at Orderly time Wednesday next.”

October 26th another order calls attention to that of the 22d, and states that some of the officers have not yet signified their intentions in relation to it. It orders all such officers to make immediate reply “whether he will or will not continue in the service,” and closes with this stirring appeal :—

“The times and the importance of the great cause we are engaged in, allows no room for hesitation and delay.—When life, liberty and property are at stake.—When our country is in danger of being a melancholy scene of bloodshed and desolation.—When our towns are laid in ashes, and innocent women and children driven from their peaceful habitations, exposed to the rigour of an inclement season and to the hand of charity perhaps for support. When calamities like these are staring us in the face and a brutal savage enemy (more so than was ever yet found in a civilized nation) are threatening us and everything we hold dear with destruction from foreign troops, it little becomes the character of a soldier to shrink from danger, and condition for new terms.”

Again in orders of the 31st of October we find:—

"The General would not have it ever supposed therefore, nor our enemies encouraged to believe, that there is a man in this army (except a few under particular circumstances) who will require to be twice urged to do what his honor, his personal liberty, the welfare of his country and the safety of his family so loudly demands of him. When motives so powerful as these conspire to call men into service and when the service is rewarded with higher pay than private soldiers ever yet received in any former war, the General cannot, nor will not till he is convinced to the contrary harbor so despicable an opinion of their constancy, and zeal for the cause as to believe they will desert it."

Nov. 14th, 1775. is this announcement:—

'Save St. John's' Countersign 'Montgomery.'

"The joyful confirmation is arrived of the glorious success of the operations since the reduction and surrender of the fortress of St. John's, the evacuation of that place and Chamblée being made prisoners of war. The Commander in Chief is confirmed. The army under his immediate direction will show their gratitude to Providence for his favoring the cause of Freedom and America—and by their thankfulness to God, may thus his perseverance in his righteous cause continue to deserve his blessed benediction."

Nov. 15th the attention of the army is called to the fact

"The Honorable the Legislature of this Province having thought it proper to observe the 14th of November instant as a day of public Thanks-giving for the success of our arms and prayers to Almighty God, the source of all our mercies and good. That he would be pleased graciously to continue to smile upon our endeavors to restore peace, preserve our rights and privileges to the latest prosperity, prosper our arms, and strengthen the harmony of the United Colonies, and the happiness of this war. The General therefore commands the army to observe with all the solemnity directed by the Legislative Assembly, and all officers, soldiers and others are hereby directed to observe the same devotion to enjoy the same."

Nov. 16th the surrender of Montreal is thus an-

"HEADING: 28 November, 1775.

"Countersign 'Montgomery.'

"The joyful news from General Montgomery brings the joyful news of the surrender of the City of Montreal to the Continental arms. The General therefore commands the army to observe with all the solemnity directed by the Legislative Assembly, and all officers, soldiers and others are hereby directed to observe the same devotion to enjoy the same."

of the liberties of his country, as it would now be the basest ingratitude to the Almighty and to their country to show any, the least backwardness in the public cause."

The record for January 1st, 1776, is as follows :—

"Parole 'Congress.' Countersign 'America.'"

This day giving commencement to the new army which in every point of view is entirely Continental, the General flatters himself that a laudable spirit of emulation will now take place and pervade the whole of it. Without such a spirit few officers have ever arrived to any degree of reputation, nor did any army ever become formidable."

"His Excellency hopes that the great cause we are engaged in will be deeply impressed on every man's mind, and wishes it may be considered that an army without regularity and discipline is no better than a commissioned mob, let us therefore when everything dear and valuable to freeman is at stake, when an unnatural parent is threatening us with destruction from every quarter, endeavour by all the skill and discipline in our power to acquire that knowledge and conduct which is necessary in war. Our men are brave and good men, who with pleasure it is observed, are addicted to fewer vices than are commonly found in armies, but it is subordination and discipline which is the life and soul of an army, &c., &c."

January 9th, 1776. The Parole being "Knowlton" and the countersign "Charlestown:"

"The General thanks Major Knowlton and the officers and soldiers who were under his command last night, for their spirited conduct and secrecy with which they burnt the houses near the enemy's works on Bunker Hill. The General was in a more particular manner pleased with the resolution the party discovered in not firing a shot, as nothing betrays greater signs of fear and less of the soldier than to begin a loose, undirected and unmeaning fire, from whence no good can result nor no valuable purpose answered. It is almost certain the enemy will attempt to revenge the insult which was cast upon them last night, for which reason the greatest care and vigilance is recommended, as it also is that the out posts be always guarded by experienced officers and good soldiers who are to be considered in other duties."

The following interesting order in regard to the colors of the regiments appears February 20th, 1776 :—

"Parole 'Manchester.' Countersign 'Boyle.'"

As it is necessary that every Regiment should be furnished with colours, and that those colours if it can be done, bear some kind of similitude of the Regiment to which they belong, the Colonels with their respective Brigadiers and the Q. M. G. may fix upon such as are

proper and can be procured. There must be to each Regiment, the standard regimental colours, and colours for each grand division. The whole to be small and light, the number of the regiment to be marked on the colours and such a motto as the Col. may choose, in fixing upon which the Gen^l advises a consultation amongst them. The Colonels are to delay no time in getting this matter fixed that the Q. M. G^l may provide the colours as soon as possible, &c."

February 27th, 1776, is the following exhortation to courage and discipline:—

"Parole 'Hancock.' Countersign 'Adams.'"

As the season is now approaching when every man must expect to be drawn into the field of action, it is highly necessary that he should prepare his mind as well as everything necessary for it. It is a noble cause we are engaged in, it is the cause of virtue and mankind, every temporal advantage and comfort to us and our posterity depends upon the vigilance of our exertions. In short, slavery or freedom must be the result of our conduct; there can therefore be no greater inducement to men to behave well. But it may not be amiss for the troops to know that if any man in action shall presume to skulk or hide himself or retreat from the enemy without the orders of his commanding officer, he will be instantly shot down as an example of cowardice; cowards having too frequently disconcerted the best formed troops by their dastardly behaviour. Next to the favour of Divine Providence nothing is more essentially necessary to give this army the victory of all its enemies than exactness of discipline, alertness when on duty, and cleanliness to their arms and persons. Unless the arms are kept clean and in a proper order it is impossible to vanquish the enemy, and cleanliness of the person gives health and a soldierlike appearance, &c., &c."

March 1st, 1776. After announcing the appointment of Gen^l Mifflin to his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, an order is recorded, calling attention to a day of fasting and prayer set apart by the Legislature of the Province and bidding officers and men to "pay due reverence and attention on the day set apart."

March 10th, 1776, is this announcement:—

That the Hon^{ble} Council have lost one of his pistols yesterday upon the river, and that he was willing to bring it to him or leave it with General Mifflin, if he would send it to him, as was and no questions asked. "It is a fine pistol, and is worth about twenty dollars, and a head resembling a griffin, and is a very fine piece of work." The Council earnestly expects every officer and man to be as diligent in their duty as well upon duty as off duty, and to be as careful of their arms as of their persons, and to be as vigilant of their power, but the utmost artifice of

The last record before the evacuation of Boston is that of March 11th. On that day the Brigadier of the day was Gen. Sullivan; Field officers of the day, Col. Anton and Col. Phinney. Then follows:—

“That there may not be the least pretext for delay and as the General is determined to march the whole or any part of the army the instant occasion shall require, His Excellency requires that not a moment's time be lost in preparing for the march. The Colonels will pay particular attention to the clothing of the men. To prevent any unnecessary preparations the Gen^l informs the officers and soldiers that it is his desire and expectation that they incur themselves with as little baggage as possible, the enormous expense and the difficulty of procuring teams to carry superfluous articles is very great, it will be well if a sufficient number can be found to answer all requisite services. The nature of the services we are engaged in is such as requires light troops to be ready at all times and all occasions for forced marches. The less baggage therefore officers and men are incumbered with the better.———The General is desirous of selecting a particular number of men as a guard for himself and baggage. The Colonel or commanding officers of each of the established regiments (the Artillery and Riflemen excepted) will furnish him with four, that the number wanted may be chosen out of them. His Excellency depends upon the Colonels for good men, such as they can recommend for their sobriety, honesty and good behaviour. He wishes them to be from five feet eight inches high to five feet ten inches, handsomely and well made, and as there is nothing in his eyes more desirable than cleanliness in a soldier, he desires that particular attention may be made in the choice of such men as are clean and spruce. They are all to be at headquarters to-morrow precisely at 12 o'clock at noon, when the number wanted will be fixed upon. The General neither wants them with uniforms nor arms, nor does he desire any man to be sent to him that is not perfectly willing or desirous of being of this guard, they should be drilled men.”

Here the records close abruptly till March 18th, then follow ten pages evidently from another orderly book, and beginning with page 9, the volume closes with the entry for March 27th, 1776. The last paragraph is as follows:—

“Upon any alarm, Reed's, Nixon's and Poor's regiments are to repair to Bunker's Hill. Varuum's and Hitchcock's to man the fort upon Prospect Hill, Little's to repair to Cobble Hill, Arnold's and Robinson's Reg^{ts} to repair to Lechmere's Point and Smith's regiment to parade at the White House Guard and there wait for orders. Phinney's and Arnold's

Reg^s are positively order'd to send immediately to the Continental Store for their clothing.

Field officer for the day to-morrow, L^t Col. Henshaw.

Adj. from Col. Little's Regt."

The next of these volumes begins with the entry of March 28th. 1776, a short time after the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, and the day before Gen. Sullivan's brigade of six regiments begun their march to New York. It is as follows:—

"HEADQUARTERS, March 28, 1776.

Parole 'Cumberland.' C. Sign 'Gloicester.'

Gen^l Sullivan with the six Reg^ts mentioned in the general orders of the 23^d inst. are to march to-morrow morning at sunrise. The Q. M. Gen^l or his Assistant, will provide nine teams for each Reg^t and the Adjutant: Gen^l will deliver the route and orders to Gen^l Sullivan.

Brigade Orders.

Field Officer of the Day, Lt. Col. Cornell.

Adj^t from Col. Smith's Reg^t."

The 29th of March Gen. Greene's command received orders to march. This consisted of Varnum's, Hitchcock's, Little's, Reed's and Bayley's regiments.¹ Three regiments under command of Col. Varnum, started April 1st for Providence, as appears by Brigade orders from Prospect Hill of that date.

The day before we find the following:—

"HEADQUARTERS, 31st March, 1776.

Parole 'Moore.' C. Sign 'Newbourn.'

Larned's, Parsons's, Huntington's, Ward's and Willis's Regiments are to march at sunrise next Thursday morning. The whole to be commanded by Brig^{de} Gen^l Spencer. The Commander of the Reg^t of Artillery, except the company that is to remain in Boston, with such pieces of Artillery and stores as Col. Knox shall think necessary, are to march with the above Brigade. The Q. M. Gen^l Assistant to pay particular attention to the providing teams for the regiment and artillery above mentioned. The commanding officers of these five regiments, may each of them have a warrant for five hundred pounds upon application at

¹ The first three were of Gen. Greene's, and Reed's and Bayley's were of Gen. Thomas' brigade, as brigaded the first of January, 1776.

Head Quarters, and they are to credit the Pay Abstract for the month of Feb'y for that sum. All the ammunition and other articles which have been delivered to the regiments of Militia out of the Continental Store are to be carefully returned or the value will be deducted out of their Pay Abstracts. The Assistant Q. M. General and Commissary of Stores are to take care that this order be fulfilled."¹

April 18th, after their arrival at New York, the following general order was issued :—

"The Hon^{ble} the Continental Congress have been pleased to direct the thanks of the United Colonies to be presented to the officers and soldiers of this army, who with unremitting courage and perseverance have surmounted every effort of the enemy, and every attack of that severe climate, in persisting eleven months in the blockade and siege of Boston, and finally forcing their enemies to make a shameful and precipitate retreat from that once devoted town.

That honorable mark of the approbation of the Congress would have been inserted sooner in the General Orders, had not the express gone to the eastward, while the army was upon the march, and arrived only last evening from Boston."

April 23d, 1776, we have this entry :—

"Parole 'Burke.' Countersign 'Barre.'

Hitchcock and Varnum's Regiments to be ready to be mustered on Friday morning next, they will be under arms at eleven in the forenoon upon the common near the Park of Artillery where the Commissary General of Musters will attend.

Brigade Orders.—A fatigue party to parade every morning at seven o'clock, of four hundred men. The commanding officer to receive orders from Gen. Putnam."

April 25th. The orders speak of

"Complaints having been made to the General of injuries done to the farmers in their crops and fields by the soldiers passing over and trampling upon the young growth in a wanton and disorderly manner." * * * *

Officers are to take care

"To put a stop to such practices and endeavor to convince their men that we came to protect not to injure the property of any man."

The 27th, attention is again called to the "riotous beha-

¹ Col. Learned's and Col. Ward's Regiments belonged to Gen. Thomas's brigade, and Parsons's, Huntington's and Wyllis's regiments to Gen. Spencer's, as brigaded Jan. 1, 1776.

vior of some soldiers belonging to the Continental Army," and the orders read:—

"It has filled the General with much regret and concern, and lays him under the disagreeable necessity of declaring that if the like behaviour should be practised again, the author will be brought to the severest punishment if taken, or treated as a common enemy if they dare to resist."

"Men are not to carve out a remedy for themselves, if they are injured in any respect, there are legal modes to pursue, just complaints will always be attended to and redressed. It should be the pride of a soldier to conduct himself in such a manner as to obtain the applause not the reproof of a people he is sent to defend, and it should be the business as it is the duty of officers to inculcate and enforce this doctrine."

The same day, orders having been received from Congress to send a General and six more regiments to Canada immediately, "his Excellency directs the Colonels or commanding officers of regiments, viz. :—Stark's, Read's, Wayne's, Irwine's, Dayton's and Wynde's to prepare their corps for immediate embarkation."

The 29th of April the army were ordered to encamp and the regiments were brigaded as follows:—

"First Brigade under the command of Brigadier Gen. Heath.—Learned's, Bailey's, Read's, Prescott's and Baldwin's.

Second Brigade under the command of B. Gen. Spencer.—Parsons's, Huntington's, Wyllis's, Arnold's and Ward's.

Third Brigade under command of B. Gen. Greene.—Hand's, Var-num's, Hitchcock's and Little's.

Fourth Brigade under the command of Brig. Gen. the Earl of Stirling.—Webb's, Nixon's, McDougall's and Ritzma's.

The third Brigade, under Brig. Gen. Greene, to encamp upon the ground marked out upon Long Island.—The companies of Virginia and Maryland Riflemen to be included in Lord Stirling's brigade."

Under the date of May 5th, 1776, is the following, relating to trespasses committed by the troops on the land of the inhabitants:—

"The inhabitants having entered a complaint that their meadow grounds are injured by the troops going upon them to gather greens, they are for the future strictly prohibited going on any of the inhabitants' grounds unless in the proper passes to and from the encampment and

the forts without orders from some commissioned-officer. The General desires the troops not to sully their reputation by any undue liberty in speech or conduct, but behave themselves towards the inhabitants with that decency and respect that becomes the character of troops fighting for the preservation of the rights and liberties of America. The General would have the troops consider we came here to protect the inhabitants and their property from the ravages of the enemy, but if instead of support and protection they meet with nothing but insults and outrage, we shall be considered as a lawless banditti and treated as oppressors and enemies."

The announcement of the Declaration of Independence was made to the troops in orders of July 9th, as follows:—

"The Honorable The Continental Congress (impelled by the dictates of duty, policy and necessity) having been pleased to dissolve the connection which subsisted between this Country and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of North America

FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES,

The several Brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their respective parades at 6 o'clock, when the declaration of Congress shewing the grounds and reasons of this measure is to be read with an audible voice. The General hopes that this important point will serve as a fresh incitement to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as showing that now the peace and safety of this Country depends (under God) solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit and advance him to the highest honors of a free country. The Brigade Majors are to receive at the Adj. General's office several of the declarations to be delivered to the Brigadiers and Colonels of regiments. The Brigade Majors are excused from further attendance at head quarters, except to receive the orders of the day, that their time and attention may be drawn as little as possible from the duties of their respective brigades."

The closing entry in this volume is dated at the camp at Long Island, July 14th, 1776.

On the last page is, "A list of the field officers established in the year 1776."

The last of the Col. Henshaw orderly books begins July 15th, 1776. The following inscription appears on the fly leaf:—

"Present from Col. Joseph Read, Adj. General,
To William Henshaw, July 13, 1776."

Under date of July 16th, 1776, after giving notice of a

vote of the Continental Congress in relation to the pay of regimental surgeons, we find the following :—

“The hurry of business often preventing particular invitation being given to officers to dine with the General, he presents his compliments to the Brigadiers and Field Officers of the Day and requests while the camp continues settled in this city, they will favor him with their company to dinner without any further or special invitation.”

July 21st is the following entry in regard to an attack made on the fortifications at Charleston, S. C. :—

“The General has great pleasure in communicating to the officers and soldiers the signal success of the American army under Gen. Lee at South Carolina. The enemy having attempted to land at the same time a furious cannonade for 12 hours was made upon the fortifications near Charleston. Both fleet and army have been repulsed with great loss by a small number of gallant troops just arrived. The enemy had 172 killed and wounded, among whom are several officers. Two capital ships much damaged, one frigate of 38 guns entirely lost, being abandoned and burnt by their own crew, and others so hurt they will want great repairs before they can be fit for service, and all with the loss on our part of ten killed and twenty-two wounded. The firmness, courage and bravery of our troops have crowned them with immortal honor. The dying heroes conjured their brethren never to abandon the standard of liberty, and even those who lost their limbs continued at their posts. Their gallantry and spirit extorted applause from their enemies, who, defeated and defeated, have returned to their former stations out of the reach of our troops.

This glorious example of troops under the like circumstances with us, the General hopes will animate every officer and soldier to imitate and even outdo them when the enemy shall make the same attempt on us. With such a bright example before us of what can be done by brave and spirited men fighting in defense of their country, we shall be loaded with a double share of shame and infamy if we do not acquit ourselves with courage and a determined resolution to conquer or die. With this hope and confidence, and that this army may have its equal share of honor and success, the General most earnestly exhorts every officer and soldier to pay the utmost attention to his arms and health. To have the former in the best order for action, and by cleanliness and care to preserve the latter. To be exact in their discipline, obedient to their superiors and vigilant on duty. With such preparation and a suitable spirit there can be no doubt but by the blessing of Heaven we shall repel our cruel invaders, preserve our country and gain the greatest

Under date of July 24th, 1776, we find the following in regard to the uniforms of the troops :—

“The General being sensible of the difficulty and expense of providing clothes of almost any kind for the troops, feels an unwillingness to recommend, much more to order any kind of uniform; but as it is absolutely necessary that men should have clothes and appear decent and light, he earnestly encourages the use of hunting shirts with long breeches made of the same cloth, and gaiter-fashion about the leg, to all those who are yet unprovided. No dress can be had cheaper, none more convenient, as they are cool in warm weather and may be warm in cool weather by putting on under-clothes, which will not change the outward dress winter or summer, besides which it is a dress which is justly supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy, who thinks every such person a complete marksman.”

July 28th. Gen. Greene issues a Brigade order in relation to the health of the troops, and also refers to the conduct of the men who trespass upon the property of the inhabitants. Of the latter he says :—

“Many complaints are made of the troops stealing the people's water-melons in and about the camp; such practices if continued will be punished in a most exemplary manner. The General desires the officers to bring every offender to justice. Although the General is taking every measure in his power to lessen the duty of the troops, he nevertheless will oblige the troops to guard the people's property, if it cannot be preserved any other way. And as a few unprincipled rascals may have it in their power to ruin the reputation of a whole corps of virtuous men, the General desires the virtuous part to complain of every offender that may be detected in invading people's property in an unlawful way, that a stop may be put to a practice that cannot fail (if continued) of rendering both officers and men obnoxious to the inhabitants.”

The following appeal for harmony among the troops appears in orders, August 1st, 1776 :—

“Parole ‘Paris.’ C. Sign ‘Reading.’

Col. Gray's regiment of Gen. Wadsworth's Brigade to go over to Long Island to-morrow morning. They are to take their orders from Gen. Greene.

It is with great concern the General understands that jealousies have arisen among the troops from the different Provinces, and reflections frequently thrown out which can only tend to irritate each other and injure the noble cause we are engaged in, and which we ought to support with one hand and one heart. The General most earnestly

intreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences, that they can no way assist our cruel enemies more effectually than making divisions among ourselves. That the honour and success of the army and safety of our bleeding country depends upon harmony and good agreement with each other, that the Provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American, to make this honorable, and preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation. And he will be the best soldier and the best patriot who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever his station or from whatever part of the continent he may come. Let all distinctions of nations, countries and provinces, therefore be lost in the generous contest who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy and the most kindness and good humour to each other. If there are any officers or soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country as to continue in such practices after these orders, the General assures them and is directed by Congress to declare to the whole army that such persons shall be severely punished and dismissed the service with disgrace."

Under date of August 7th, 1776, we find the following :—

"BROOKLYN CAMP, LONG ISLAND.

Brigade orders by Gen. Greene.

The commanding officers of the respective fortifications are directed to pay particular attention to the provisions lodged at each alarm post for the support of the troops in case of a siege, and see that they are in good order and also that the water casks and cisterns be filled, and whenever the water gets bad to have it pumped out and fresh put in. By a deserter from Sir Peter Parker's fleet we learn the Hessians from England, and Clinton's troops from South Carolina have arrived, and that the enemy are meditating an attack on this island and the City of New York. The General wishes to have the troops provided with every necessary to give them a proper reception. The Captain of every company is directed to examine the arms of his company immediately."

The expectation of a battle is thus referred to in orders August 8th :—

"Passes signed by the President of the Convention of New York are to be deemed authentick, and noticed as such by the officers attending at the ferries. As the movements of the enemy and intelligence by deserters, give the utmost reason to believe that the great struggle in which we are contending for everything dear to us and our posterity is near at hand, the General most earnestly recommends the closest attention to the state of the arms, ammunition and flints, that if we should suddenly be called to action nothing of this kind may be to provide, and he does most anxiously exhort both officers and soldiers not to

be out of their quarters or encampment, especially early in the morning or the tide of flood. A flag in the day-time or light at night in the fort on Bayard's Hill, with three guns from the same place fired quick, but distinct, is to be a signal for the troops to repair to their alarm posts and prepare for action, and that the alarm may more effectually be given the drums are immediately to beat to arms upon the signal being given upon Bayard's Hill.

This order is not to be considered as countermanding the firing two guns at Fort George as formerly ordered. That is also to be done upon an alarm, but the flag will not be hoisted at the old head quarters in Broadway. Col. Parsons, Col. Read, Col. Huntington, Col. Webb, Col. Bailey, Col. Baldwin, Col. Wyllis, Col. Ritzma, Col. McDougall and Col. Shepard to attend at head quarters this evening at 6 o'clock.

Brigade orders.

Field officer for the day, Col. Forman, Adj't from Col. Little's regt."

August 12th, 1776, the following appointments by the Continental Congress are promulgated in orders:—

"Major Generals of the army of the United States, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Sullivan and Nathaniel Greene, Esquires, and the following gentlemen Brigadier Generals—James Read, John Nixon, Alex. McDougall, Sam^l Holden Parsons, Arthur St. Clair and James Clinton, Esqrs. They are to be respected and obeyed accordingly.

* * * * *

The General orders and directs that the following arrangement of the army in consequence of the late promotions shall take place till some new disposition can be made, viz.—Glover's, Smallwood's, Miles's and Atles's regiments to compose one brigade and be under the command of Brigadier Lord Stirling. The regiments late Nixon's, Prescott's, Varnum's, Little's and Hand's to form another brigade and be commanded by Brigadier Gen. Nixon. The regiments lately commanded by Col. McDougall, Ritzma's, Webb's, and the artificers to be another brigade and under Brigadier Gen. McDougall. The regiments late Parsons's, Huntington's, Ward's, Wyllis's, and Durgees's to be another brigade commanded by Brigadier Gen. Parsons, and the regiments late Clinton's, Read's, Bailey's, Baldwin's and Learned's to be another brigade under the command of Brigadier Gen. James Clinton. Sergeant's, Hutchinson's and Hitchcock's regiments to be added to Gen. Mifflin's brigade."

* * * * *

"Under this disposition formed as well as time will allow the united efforts of the officers of every rank and the soldiers with the smiles of Providence, the General hopes to render a favorable account to his country and posterity, of the enemy whenever they choose to make the appeal to the great arbiter of the Universe."

The battle of Long Island took place August 25th, 1776, and we find several orders in relation thereto, and stirring appeals to the troops to be prepared for the expected conflict. The general orders for August 13th and 14th indicate the spirit of these appeals :—

“HEAD QUARTERS, *Aug't 13, 1776.*

The enemy's whole reinforcement is now arrived so that an attack must and soon will be made. The General therefore again repeats his earnest request that every officer and soldier will have his arms and ammunition in good order and keep within their quarters and encampments as much as possible to be ready for action at a moment's warning, and when called to it to remember that liberty, property, life and honor are all at stake, that upon their courage and conduct rest the hopes of their bleeding and insulted country—that their wives, children and parents expect safety from them only and that we have every reason to expect that heaven will crown with success so good a cause. The enemy will endeavour to intimidate us by show and appearance—but remember how they have been repulsed by a few brave Americans. Their cause is bad and their men are conscious of it and if opposed with firmness and coolness at their first onset with our advantages of works and knowledge of the ground the victory is surely ours. Every good soldier will be silent and attentive, wait for orders and reserve his fire till he is sure of doing execution. The officers to be particularly careful of this.”

August 14th :—

“The General flatters himself that every man's mind and arms are now prepared for the glorious contest upon which so much depends. The time is too precious, nor does the General think it necessary in exhorting his brave countrymen and fellow soldiers to behave like men fighting for everything that can be dear to yeomen. We must resolve to conquer or die—with this resolution and the blessing of Heaven, victory and success will certainly attend us. There will be a glorious issue to this campaign, and the General will reward his brave fellow soldiers with every indulgence in his power. The whole line to turn out to-morrow morning at all points ready for action and continue till 9 o'clock or further orders.”

Under date of August 20th, 1776, we find the following in general orders :—

“The officers who have lately come into camp are also informed that it has been found necessary amidst such frequent change of troops to introduce some distinction by which their several ranks can be known, viz.—Field officers are to wear a pink or red cockade, Captains white or buff, Subalterns green. The General flatters himself every gentleman

will conform to the regulations which he has found infinitely necessary to prevent mistakes and confusion."

* * * * *

"The General being informed to his great surprise that a report prevailed and industriously spread far and wide, that Lord Howe had made propositions of peace, calculated by designing persons most probably to lull us into a fatal security,—his duty obliges him to declare that no such offer has been made by Lord Howe, but on the contrary from the best intelligence he can procure, the army may expect an attack as soon as the wind and tide may prove favorable. He hopes therefore every man's mind and arms will be prepared for action and when called to it, shew to our enemies and the whole world that those men contending on their own land are superior to any mercenaries on earth. The Brigadiers are to see that the spears in the different ranks under their command are kept greased and cleaned."

In the orders for August 23d and 24th, 1776, we find the following exhortation and praise from the general in command to the officers and men :—

"The enemy have now landed on Long Island and the hour is fast approaching on which the honour and success of this army and the safety of our bleeding country depends. Remember officers and soldiers that you are freemen fighting,—fighting for the blessings of liberty, that slavery will be your portion and that of your posterity if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage and spirits have been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders, though they have found by dear experience at Boston, Charlestown and other places, what a few brave men contending on their own land and in the best of causes can do against base hirelings and mercenaries, be cool but determined, do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers. It is the General's express orders, that, if any man attempts to skulk, lay down or retreat without orders, he be immediately shot down as an example of cowardice. He hopes no such scoundrel will be found in this army, but on the contrary every one for himself resolving to conquer or die, and trusting to the smiles of Heaven upon so just a cause, will behave with bravery and resolution. Those who are distinguished by their gallant behaviour and good conduct, depend upon being honorably noticed and will be suitably rewarded."

August 24th :

"The General returns his thanks to the brave officers and soldiers who have with so much spirit and intrepidity repulsed the enemy and defeated their designs of taking possession of the woods near our lines; he is now convinced that the troops he has the honour to command will not in point of true bravery yield to any troops in the universe. The cheerfulness with which they do their duty and the

patience with which they endure fatigue, evinces such exalted sentiments of freedom and love for their country as gives him the most satisfactory evidence that whenever called upon they will prove themselves worthy of that freedom for which they are now contending."

* * * * *

"The General is sorry to find Col. Rawson's regiment flying from their post, when the timorous females would have blushed to have betrayed the least signs of fear at anything which that regiment discovered at the time of their flight."

The record closes abruptly with the orders for August 25th, 1776, in which

"All the troops in this department are desired to wear a green bough or branch of a tree in their hats till further orders."

There is bound in the volume a few pages apparently from another orderly book. The first order bears date August 25th, 1776, and is about the same as that of the same date just referred to; no other entry appears till September 11th, the next is October 1st, and the last is for October 3d, of the same year.

Another of the orderly books in possession of the society and perhaps of equal interest with those already named, is that of Col. Ephraim Doolittle of the 24th Mass. Regiment.¹ This extends from April 22d to August

¹ Col. Ephraim Doolittle was a merchant of Worcester, Mass., from 1760 to 1772. He was a selectman in 1763, and in 1766 represented the town in the General Court. He took an active part in political affairs before the Revolution, and in 1774 was a delegate to the Provincial Congress, at Concord, from the town of Petersham, to which place he had removed in 1772. He became Colonel of one of the Worcester county regiments of minute men formed in 1774, and on hearing the news of the flight at Concord and Lexington, April 19, 1775, marched at once to Cambridge with his regiment, and was mustered into service. At the battle of Bunker Hill he was prevented by an accident, which confined him to his bed, from taking the command of his regiment. At the close of the war he removed to Shoreham, Vt., and died there at an advanced age in 1803. In the hall of the Antiquarian Society is a curious weapon, said to have been invented by Col. Doolittle, for the use of his regiment to supply the want of arms. It is a long heavy pole, with two iron blades about eight inches long, united to a strong head with two prongs, something like those of a pitchfork, two other blades of equal length descended laterally, and another turned down. These five blades or spears, when well sharpened, must have made it rather a formidable weapon, but it is not likely it was used to any extent.

19th, 1775, a very eventful period of the Revolution. Col. Doolittle's regiment was raised in Worcester County, and promptly after the news of the fight at Lexington was received, marched to Cambridge. In May, 1775, as appears from a report in the orderly book, the regiment consisted of eight companies, numbering about three hundred and eighty, rank and file. The Lieut.-Colonel was Benj. Holden, and the Major, Willard Moore of Paxton. In the engagement at Bunker Hill, the regiment was under the command of Maj. Moore, his senior officers being absent on account of sickness. Maj. Moore was wounded at the second attack of the British, and while being carried to the rear, received a ball through the body, which resulted in his death on the field. Col. J. Trumbull, in his ideal picture of the Battle of Bunker Hill, represents Maj. Moore as one of the officers in the thick of the fight, and as present at the death of Gen. Warren.

The first regimental order given in the manuscript is dated April 22d, 1775, and is as follows :—

“Capt. Wheeler's, Capt. Dexter's, Capt. Allin's and Capt. Wilder's Companies to obtain quarters at Water Town, till farther orders and to send to Cambridge Head Quarters for stores and to appear to-morrow morning, precisely at 9 of the clock, on the parade on the Common, Cambridge, to perform military exercise.”

The entry for May 3d is :—

“Parole ‘Langdon.’

Officer of the day, Lieut. Col. Henshaw. Field officers of the main guard, Col. William Henshaw, Maj. Bigelow. Field officers of the picquet guard, Col. Parker, Maj. Moore. Adj't. of the day, Fox.

General Orders. That 8 Captains, 16 subalterns, 32 sergeants & 400 privates be drafted to go upon fatigue. Col. William Prescott to command the detachment.¹ And that he apply to the Commissary General for necessary tools, and return them at night to y^e Commissary General. The officers will receive directions from Mr. Chadwick, Engineer.”

¹ *Henshaw's* orderly book gives Col. Doolittle as the Commander of the detachment, which is probably incorrect, as Col. Doolittle or his orderly would have been aware of it, if he was to have the command, and made the entry accordingly.

In examining this manuscript, we find that the action at Bunker Hill, of which so much has been written in later years, is but briefly alluded to in general or regimental orders. It would seem natural, in our day, at least, that the death of a prominent officer of the regiment, and that too in its first battle, would be the subject of notice in a regimental order, but we look in vain for any intimation from Col. Doolittle of the death of Maj. Moore. The first regimental order we find refers only incidentally to the battle the regiment had taken part in. On the day before the momentous action is this brief entry :—

“Parole ‘Lebanon.’ Countersign ‘Coventry.’”

Field officer of the day, Col. Nixon. Field officer of the picquet guard to-night, Maj. Brooks. Field officer of the main guard to-morrow morning, Lt. Col. Hutchinson. Adj. of the day, Holden.”¹

June 17th, the day of the battle, the entry is :—

“Parole ‘Deerf’d.’ Countersign ‘Conway.’”

Field officer of the day, Col. Gerrish. Field officer of the picquet guard to-night, Maj. Wood. Field officer of the main guard to-morrow morning, Lt. Col. Baldwin. Adj. of the day, Febiger.”²

The entries for the 18th, 19th and 20th are equally brief, and the 21st is the first day on which there appears any indication that the troops had been engaged in a desperate encounter with the British. On that day we find the following general order :—

“That the commanding officer of each Regiment, Detachment and Company, make a complete return of the numbers in their respective Regiments, Detachments and Companies fit for duty, absent on furlow, deserted, sick, killed & wounded in the late engagement, or missing upon account thereof. That each Col. appoint a Regimental Court

¹ This differs from Henshaw's book in giving the name of Maj. Brooks, instead of that of Maj. Buttrick. Maj. Brooks was John Brooks, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts.

² Henshaw has Col. instead of Maj. Wood, the latter is probably correct, being Maj. Wood of Col. Prescott's regiment. Christian Febiger, Adjutant of Col. Gerish's regiment, was a Dane, who subsequently went on the Expedition to Quebec with Gen. Arnold. He was afterwards a Colonel and at the storming of Stony Point with Gen. Wayne.

Martial to try prisoners belonging to their respective Regiments for crimes that are not capital."

The general order for June 22d is:—

"That all such persons as may have in their possession guns, packs, clothing, and any other article whatever that fell into their hands, at and since the time of the engagement upon Bunker Hill, the owners of which are unknown, immediately return them to head-quarters.

SAM'L OSGOOD, *Maj. Brigade.*"

On June 24th we find the first general order giving thanks to the troops:—

[The] "General orders his thanks to be given to those officers and soldiers who behaved so very gallantly in the late action at Charlestown. Such bravery gives the General sensible pleasure, he being fully satisfied that we shall finally come off victorious and triumph over the enemies of Freedom and America."

On June 27th, 1775, Col. Doolittle issues the following regimental order:—

"It is desired that if the regiment should be called into action, that the brave and prudent may be properly noticed, that their merit may be rewarded, and that their names may be handed down to posterity with veneration and grateful acknowledgment, and if there should be any cowards, that they all may be ascertained."

"God save the People."

Gen. Washington arrived at Cambridge about two o'clock, P. M., July 2d, and the next day appears his first general order, as follows:—

"HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, July 3, 1775.

General orders by his Excellency Gen. Washington, Esq., Commander in Chief of the forces of the United Provinces of North America, that the Col. or Commanding officer of each Regt. is ordered forthwith to make two returns of the number of men in their respective regiments, distinguishing those who are sick, wounded, absent on furlow, and also all the quantity of ammunition each regiment has."

Under date of July 4th, 1775, we find the following not given in the Henshaw orderly book published by the Historical Society:—

"General orders, that the officer of the main guard see that his sentries have such orders as will make them alert on their posts, as there is found great deficiency, and the rounds from the main guard visit their

sentries twice every hour, and the sentries hall every person that passes, and if they cannot give an account of themselves take them up and confine them, and not to disclose the countersign to any person what rank soever. If any is found not doing their duty, either sitting or standing, be immediately confined for trial, and that no man leave the guard, but that his comrade carry his provisions to the guard house. That the Adjutant of every regiment bring on their men for main guard at 8 o'clock in the morning precisely, and if any one fails to be immediately reported to the General."

At the end of the book is a complete roster of Col. Doolittle's regiment, which then consisted of nine companies.

There are several more of these manuscripts covering different periods of the Revolution, either in the form of orderly books (two of which are written by British officers) or diaries and memoranda relating to the army. From these, other extracts of interest might have been made, but enough have been given to illustrate their value as aids to historical research.

A list of the orderly books in the possession of the Antiquarian Society is given at the close of this paper.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that the society also have the original manuscript of an account of the battle of Bunker's Hill, prepared by order of the Provincial Congress for transmission to Great Britain. This was written by Rev. Peter Thacher, who was one of a committee of three, appointed to draw up a narrative of the battle, and sent to Arthur Lee at London, as an impartial account, with the request that it be inserted in the public papers.

In the examination of the Revolutionary manuscripts now in our collection, it was found that in May, 1840, the society had placed in the charge of Hon. John P. Bigelow, as secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "a large mass of very valuable papers" relating to the Revolution. By a vote of the council, in April, 1840, we find the terms upon which these papers were passed over to the secretary. It is as follows:—

Voted.—That the Librarian be authorized to deliver to

the Secretary of the Commonwealth, such manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution, as are now in the possession of the society, upon the conditions that the Secretary will cause the same to be arranged in good order, bound into volumes, and safely kept, while the same shall remain in his custody, and return the same, whenever thereto requested, to the Library, free of expense to the society."

This vote, with the letter of our librarian, Mr. Haven, accompanying the manuscripts, appears in House Document No. 10, January, 1841, with the report of the Secretary of State upon the subject. He states that the papers received from the Antiquarian Society have been of very essential service, that they have been arranged and indexed, "the number of names amounting to 5,896."

Many of these papers were receipts for services rendered during the war of the Revolution, of no great value to the society; but others were believed to be of special historical value and interest, and it was then thought by the council, that these might be recalled at some future day and placed in our archives. Perhaps the length of time which has elapsed since the papers were deposited with the secretary, may prove to give the right of permanent possession, but might it not be for the interest of the society to investigate the matter and, if deemed advisable, make a demand for the return of any that are of importance in illustrating the history of the times? The writer would say that his attention was first called to this subject by Dr. Haven, with the request that he examine our records and get therefrom such information as they might afford.

The society has been called to mourn the loss of two members by death since the annual meeting. Ebenezer Alden, M.D., of Randolph, Mass., died at that place Wednesday, January 26th, 1881, aged 92 years, 10 months and 9 days. He was born at Randolph, March 17th, 1788, graduated at Harvard College in 1808, and was the last surviving member of the class of that year. He studied his profession at Dartmouth College Medical School, then under

charge of Dr. Nathan Smith, and received the degree of M.B. from that College in 1811. He afterwards attended medical lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, given by Dr. Benjamin Rush and his successor, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton; the degree of M.D. was conferred upon him by this University in 1812. Dr. Alden early commenced the practice of his profession in his native town, which was continued there for over sixty years, and he was an enthusiast in the science as well as in the practice of medicine. He was elected a member of this society in October, 1865, and was always interested in its welfare. Although of so great age he but a few months before his death sent to the Treasurer of the society his check for fifty dollars, as a life assessment, thus practically showing his interest in its objects.¹ He was proud of his ancestry from John Alden of the *Mayflower*, which was clearly traced in his interesting "Memorial of the Descendants of John Alden of Plymouth Colony," a copy of which he presented to the society. Dr. Alden was actively interested in many educational and philanthropical movements, was for over thirty years a trustee of Amherst College, for many years a director of the American Education Society, a trustee of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, of Phillips Academy, and of the Andover Theological Seminary. He was a man of decided religious character, took an active interest in his church, and was for over forty years the superintendent of its Sunday-school, and to the last enrolled as one of its teachers. He was elected a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1840, and was, as in all his other official

¹ Since this notice was prepared for the press, the society has additional evidence of the interest taken by Dr. Alden in its welfare, the Treasurer having received from Rev. Edmund K. Alden, D.D., one of the executors of the last will of Dr. Alden, a check for one thousand dollars bequeathed to the society "as a permanent fund to be kept safely invested, the income to be expended for the benefit of the Library especially in preparing catalogues."

positions, faithful to the trust. He was much interested in music, and was for many years an active member of the Stoughton Musical Society, said to be the oldest organization of the kind in America. Dr. Alden was always a strong and consistent advocate of total abstinence, as a physician discouraging the use of alcoholic liquors even as a medicine. He took an active part in the Washingtonian temperance movement started in 1841, and contributed liberally to the aid of this and other temperance movements, not only in money, but by his voice upon the lecture platform. About five years before his death he lost the use of his eyes, which to a man of his social nature and active business habits, was a great affliction, although it was at an age when he could not be active in the duties of his profession. He was a man of marked business ability, of the strictest integrity; his advice was sought for and valued by his townsmen and friends, one of whom, in writing of him says, that love of order and regularity were marked traits in his character; that his life was characterized in many respects by an almost Puritanical simplicity and rigidity emphatic in many minor details. Nevertheless, he was sometimes warmly enthusiastic and would go into raptures over a new book, or scientific invention useful in the medical profession, or again in studying a piece of new music. His long life, so full of thought for the welfare of others, endeared him to his friends and fellow-citizens, who will cherish the memory of his work among them with affectionate regard.

Since the meeting of the council, at which this report was presented, another honored name has been added to the list of our deceased members.

John Gorham Palfrey, S.T.D., LL.D., died at his home in Cambridge, Mass., Tuesday, April 26th, 1881.

Dr. Palfrey, son of John and grandson of William Palfrey, who was Paymaster-General in the army of the Revolution, was born at Boston, May 2d, 1796. He received his early

instruction under William Payne, schoolmaster, of Boston, father of the actor known as "The Young American Watson." He was fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, N. H., and graduated at Harvard College in 1815. Among his classmates was our late associate, Jared Sparks, and Theophilus Parsons, who survives him.

He received the degree of S.T.D. from his alma mater in 1841, and that of LL.D. in 1869. He had also received the doctor title from St. Andrew's College, Scotland, in 1838. He was pastor of the Brattle Square (Unitarian) Church, Boston, from 1818 to 1830; was made Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature, in Harvard College, in 1831; was editor of the *North American Review* from 1835 to 1843, and contributed to that publication many papers remarkable for their brilliant scholarship, which were conservative upon theological questions, but inclined to more radical views upon political subjects. Dr. Palfrey was a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, 1842-43, and in 1844 became Secretary of the Commonwealth, serving with credit to that year. While in this position he was chairman of the committee on education, and was instrumental in procuring the continuance of the Normal School system of the State.

He was elected a member of the Society of December 18, 1842, remaining until 51, after the August session of 1847. He was a frequent lecturer, and was given in 1843 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Boston. He gave his address in the University of Northampton, England, in his chairmanship of the North American Review, after a sojourn of four years in that country.

He was elected a member in 1858. His situation was such that he could not do any week of the college terms, but he was always at work in the lecture-room and in the study, and he never took in any other way. I was his colleague in the University Chapel; and during my absence he lectured on Saturdays after the week's lecturing, and on Sundays on religious service which I conducted.

on Sunday. As Dean (or executive officer) of the theological faculty, I was charged with affairs of administration in that department of the university. As editor of the *North American Review*, I was under obligation to lay before the public two hundred and fifty or more closely printed octavo pages, every quarter. I had in press a work, of some extent and labor, on the Hebrew Scriptures. And imprudently, perhaps, but for apparently sufficient cause, I had engaged to deliver and print courses of Lectures for the Lowell Institute,—which, accordingly I did deliver, in 1839, 1840 and the two following winters.”

This extract is given to show how active he was in earnest practical work, and how much of his time must have been spent in exhaustive literary labor. As a partial relief from the strain upon body and mind, he was obliged to give up his official connection with the college, and later the editorship of the “*Review*.”

His two volumes of “*Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*,” and his “*Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities*,” are works of great and permanent value to the student in that line of thought. He was a very careful and painstaking writer,—and in whatever department of literature he investigated gave abundant evidence thereof. Perhaps this is more clearly shown in his most important work, the “*History of New England*,” now considered an authority upon the subjects upon which it treats. It is to be regretted that Dr. Palfrey did not live to complete, under his own eye, the fifth volume of the “*History*,” the text of which, it is understood, is substantially written, bringing the work down to the commencement of the War of the Revolution.

He published a “*Life of Col. William Palfrey*,” his grandfather, who was an aide to Gen. Washington during the occupation of Dorchester; also a “*History of Brattle Square Church*,” besides many lectures and discourses. He was one of the editors of the Commonwealth newspaper in 1851, and postmaster of Boston, 1861–66.

Dr. Palfrey was always a strong and consistent anti-slavery man, showing his devotion to the cause in many

practical ways, particularly in liberating some slaves which he had inherited, and by his voice on the floor of Congress.

He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1825, resigned in 1838, re-elected in 1842, but again resigned in 1854. In October, 1844, he pronounced before the Historical Society, a "Discourse on the Completion of Fifty years from its Incorporation," which was published in volume nine, third series of their "Collections."

Dr. Palfrey became a member of the American Antiquarian Society April, 1856, and has manifested his interest in its welfare at various times. His relations with Dr. Haven, our librarian, were most intimate, and it was his habit to consult and advise with him upon mooted questions while preparing the "History of New England," as well as to obtain from our archives material to illustrate that work. In the preface to the first edition, he thus acknowledges his obligation to Dr. Haven: "To no one am I indebted for more light than to that eminent archæologist, Mr. Samuel Foster Haven, of Worcester. Especially have I been aided by him in elaborating the view, presented in these pages, of the origin and purposes of the Company of Massachusetts Bay."

He was a man of strong christian faith; rather conservative upon doctrinal points and of the strictest integrity, and has left to us many evidences of his great industry and literary ability, as exhibited in his pulpit discourses, in public service, and in his contributions to historical literature.

For the Council,

NATHANIEL PAINE.

LIST OF ORDERLY BOOKS AND KINDRED RECORDS IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY, AT WORCESTER, MASS.

- SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL'S "Journal or Minutes made in an Expedition against Louisbourg, Anno Domini 1745."
- RECEIPT BOOK of Sir John St. Clair, Baronet, Deputy-Quartermaster to the forces in North America, 1756. Printed receipts for pay for services as "Battoe-men," signed by officers and men of twenty-four companies.
- COL. JONATHAN BAGLEY'S CONNECTICUT REGIMENT.—Provincial Camp at Lake George, August 20 to September 11, 1758.
- DIARY OF A SERGEANT in Gen. Ruggles's Regiment, Crown Point, Albany, &c., 1759. Has a record of march from Springfield to Albany and Saratoga.
- REGIMENTAL ORDERLY BOOK.—Troops under Col. Bradstreet at Forts Ontario, Niagara and Erie—Detroit and Albany, June 27 to November 29, 1764.
- A JOURNAL OF MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS' proceedings with the Indians in the district of "Michillimackinac," September 21, 1766, to February 1, 1767.
- COL. EPHRAIM DOOLITTLE'S.—Bunker Hill and Siege of Boston, April 22 to August 19, 1775.
- ISAAC NICHOLS'S.—Sergeant of Captain A. Wilder's Company, Col. Doolittle's Regiment. Troops before Boston, September 5 to December 11, 1775.
- COL. WILLIAM HENSHAW'S.—Bunker Hill, Boston, October 1, 1775, to March 12, 1776, and March 19 to March 27, 1776.
- DO.—Boston, Long Island, March 28 to July 14, 1776.
- DO.—Long Island and New York, July 15 to August 25, 1776.
- JOURNAL OF J. FISH, Captain of a privateer, 1776-7. The first entry gives an account of the capture of the ship "Lord Howe," with one hundred officers and men, June 18, 1776.

CAMP AT BRIDGEWATER, near Bound Brook. Troops under Gen. Warner. January 17 to March 11, 1777.

GEN. PHILIP SCHUYLER'S ORDERLY BOOK.—Fort Edward, Albany, June 29 to August 18, 1777.

HENRY B. LIVINGSTON'S.—Troops under Gen. Schuyler, St. Clair, &c. Ticonderoga, Stillwater, &c., June 13 to August 19, 1777.

CAMP AT STILLWATER, Saratoga and Albany, &c. August 12 to November 4, 1777.

COL. THADDEUS COOK'S, of Wallingford, Conn., Stillwater, September 6 to October 6, 1777. Weekly Returns of the Regiment September 13, 27, and October 21, 1777.

"JOURNAL DÉTAILLÉ de La Compagne en Amérique de 1778. L'armée Américaine commandée par Son Excellence Le Gen. George Washington, &c." Valley Forge, March, 1778. By P. S. Du Douceau.

CAPT. WILLIAM GATES'S COMPANY, of Col. Timo. Bigelow's Regiment, Weekly Returns, various dates from October, 1777, to September, 1778. Also in same covers, ORDERLY BOOK OF LIEUT. DAVID GROUT'S COMPANY, of Timothy Bigelow's Regiment, February 15, 1779, to June 15, 1779, and Weekly Returns of Capt. Peirce's Co., same regiment, in 1780.

BRITISH ORDERLY BOOK.—Philadelphia, &c. April 13 to June 20, 1778.

BRITISH ORDERLY BOOK.—Holly Mount Camp, Neversink, New York, &c., June 21 to October 12, 1778.

CAPT. REMICK'S (Brigade Inspector.)—Continental Village. October 1 to December 12, 1781.

RETURNS OF THE FIRST MASSACHUSETTS BRIGADE.—November, 1781, to October, 1783. Commanded by Brigadier General John Glover, Col. William Shepard, Col. Joseph Vose, and Brigadier General John Paterson.

RETURNS OF THE THIRD MASSACHUSETTS BRIGADE.—Commanded by Brigadier General John Paterson. September 4, 1779, to October 27, 1781.

GARRISON ORDERS. — Highlands, December 12, 1781, to March 27, 1782.

GARRISON ORDERS.—West Point, December 13, 1781, to April 12, 1782.

BRIGADE ADJUTANT'S BOOK.—Details for guard duty, &c. August 1 to December 31, 1781.

HIGHLANDS, NEWBURGH. — Troops under Gen. Heath. March 28 to June 15, 1782.

NEWBURGH, VERPLANK'S POINT.—August 19 to September 17, 1782.

ABRA. TUCKERMAN'S (Brigade Quartermaster) Receipt Book. — West Point, Phillipsburgh, Peekskill, April 26 to November 26, 1781.

NEWBURGH.—April 15 to June 20, 1783.

NEWBURGH.—June 16 to August 18, 1782. With copy of a letter from Washington in behalf of the "Officers of the American Army" to the "Chevalier de La Luzerne," congratulating the French government on the birth of a Dauphin and his reply; also, one from Washington to Gen. Heath.

VERPLANCK'S POINT, NEWBURGH.—September 18 to December 31, 1782.

CAPT. CUSHING'S.—Newburgh. January 2 to February 25, 1783.

DO. BRIGADE OF GEN. JOHN PATERSON, NEWBURGH.—February 26 to April 14, 1783.

DO. NEWBURGH, TRENTON AND PHILADELPHIA.—June 21 to September 25, 1783.

DO. NEWBURGH.—October 16 to November 24, 1783.

BRITISH, HALIFAX, &c.—Various dates, April 5 to September 21, 1783.

MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.—June 10 to June 22, 1788. Various orders after October 7, 1783. Washington's farewell orders to the army, November 2, 1783.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF CONGRESS in relation to the Army, Proclamation of Peace, Constitution of the Society of the Cincinnati, List of Officers of Capt. Luke Day's company, April 16, 1788.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE appointed by the Massachusetts line of the army, to adjust and settle the accounts of the officers and soldiers with regard to the depreciation of the currency. November 24, 1779. With the action of the General Court on the same.

MAJ. TAY'S ORDERLY BOOK AND DIARY while in pursuit of Shays and his men in 1787.

CAMP AT FORT NORFOLK.—March 28 to April 26, 1813.

BRIGADE ORDERLY OR LETTER BOOK kept at the headquarters of Brig. Gen. Robert B. Taylor, at Norfolk, October 23, 1813, to September 29, 1814. This has several letters to the Secretary of War, Quartermaster General, and the Adjutant General of Virginia.

NOTE.—There is also a large collection of muster rolls, army orders and other military papers of various dates, from 1745 to 1787.

REPORT ON THE LIBRARY.

THE alphabetical list of Donors and Donations, which forms a part of this report, proves that the society's storehouse of history continues to be kindly remembered.

The accessions from October 15, 1880, to April 15, 1881, have been as follows: *Gifts*, four hundred books, fifty-five hundred and forty pamphlets, one hundred and four files of unbound newspapers, five hundred and thirty-one maps and charts, eight photographs, forty-six prints, a manuscript orderly book, and a fragment of the Confederate Privateer Alabama. *Exchanges*, two hundred and fifty-nine books, one hundred and eighty-one pamphlets, seven maps, one print, and a manuscript letter of Benedict Arnold. *Purchases*, twenty-six books and sixteen pamphlets. *Total*, six hundred and eighty-five books, fifty-seven hundred and thirty-seven pamphlets, one hundred and four files of unbound newspapers, five hundred and thirty-eight maps and charts, eight photographs, forty-six prints, two manuscripts, and one article for the cabinet. Twenty-one of the thirty-nine members whose names appear upon the list, have furnished publications of their own. The department of local history has been enriched by Dr. Green, Mr. Hunnewell, Col. Jones, Dr. Metcalf, President Salisbury, Hon. Isaac Smucker, Col. Washburn and Col. Whittlesey; the alcove of Biography by Governor Bell, Hon. P. W. Chandler, Rev. Dr. Ellis, Prof. Salisbury and Hon. Robert C. Winthrop; and of Genealogy, by Senator Hoar and Nathaniel Paine, Esq.; while Archæological, Scientific, Educational and other literature, has been received from Mr. Ammidown,

W. S. Barton, Esq., Mr. Brock, Dr. Chandler, Prof. Chase, Hon. Isaac Davis, Hon. E. L. Davis, Judge Devens, Dr. Guild, Rev. Dr. Hale, Dr. Haven, Prof. Hitchcock, Major Huguet-Latour, Rev. Dr. Huntington, Judge Nelson, Mr. Salisbury, Jr., Rev. Dr. Smyth, Rev. Mr. Stone, Prof. Thompson, Dr. Tyler, and the Assistant-Librarian.

In Dr. Haven's gift are included one hundred and eight bound volumes and nine hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets, chiefly relating to American History; in Senator Hoar's, twenty copies of the new Peirce Genealogy; and in Mr. Salisbury, Jr.'s, seven copies of the private editions of his Yucatan publications, to fill cash orders, and a set of Dawson's Historical Magazine in twelve volumes.

Among the eighty-one donors not members of the society, the following may be named for gifts of special value: Hon. Charles J. Hoadly, for the last two volumes of the Colonial Records of Connecticut, edited by him; Dr. Elias Loomis of Yale College, for the three volumes of his Loomis Genealogy, sent at the suggestion of Dr. Trumbull; Mr. Charles A. Miles of New York City, for Colonel Jonathan Bagley's manuscript orderly book of the Abercrombie expedition of 1758; and Sidney S. Rider, A. M., of Providence, R. I., for as complete a set of his Rhode Island Historical Tracts as he was able to supply, with a copy of Miller's notes on the Wampanoag tribe of Indians. In addition to the foregoing, seventy societies and institutions, nearly all being correspondents, appear. Besides the transactions of these learned bodies, the valuable catalogues of the Boston Athenæum, the Brooklyn Mercantile Library Association, and the Massachusetts State Library, have been added to our collection of Bibliography.

We are indebted to the various colleges, for their prompt replies to our call for their Triennials, which were used in the preparation of the new catalogue of members. The Worcester Free Institute continues to send us the balance of the edition of its annual catalogue, so that we have been

able to fill orders from France, India and Japan, as well as from various points in our own country.

The income of the B. F. Thomas Local History Fund, has allowed the purchase of twenty-one New England locals for the alcove which bears Judge Thomas's honored name. The third part of the American Library of the late Mr. George Brinley, containing seventeen hundred and seventeen lots, and about twenty-seven hundred titles, was sold at Messrs. George A. Leavitt & Co.'s, New York, April 4th to 8th inclusive, Mr. Joseph Sabin being the auctioneer. The balance to the society's credit was over fourteen hundred dollars, but it was thought best to hold the major part for the final sale. One hundred and sixty-four books and six pamphlets, containing in all two hundred titles, were bid off at a charge of \$368.59. They may be classed as follows : *Biography*, ninety-one volumes, including the early edition of the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, 4 vols. 4^o, and *Mémoires Correspondance et Manuscrits du Général Lafayette*, publiés par sa Famille, 6 vols. 8^o. *Genealogy*, thirty-four volumes, many of them privately printed and rare. *Indian Languages*, twenty-four volumes, including Dr. Shea's Library of American Linguistics in thirteen volumes. *American Indians*, eighteen volumes. *United States*, nineteen volumes. *Local Histories*, eight vols. *South America*, four vols. *Psalmody*, three vols., an early New England Psalter and the first Connecticut Bible.

For the Davis Spanish-American alcove, were purchased Mr. Brinley's copies of Waterton's Wanderings in South America, Brett's Indian Tribes of Guiana, and a Popular Description, Geographical, Historical and Topographical of Mexico and Guatemala, published in two volumes.

The sale just closed was perhaps not so largely attended as the previous sales of 1879 and 1880, but the bidding was spirited and well sustained to the end. Monday was devoted to the South and West; Tuesday, to the General,

Civil and Political History of the United States, Military and Naval History, and Biography ; Wednesday, to Mexico, the West Indies, Central and South America, and American Indians ; and Thursday, to Indian Languages, Bibles, Catechisms, Primers, Music and Psalmody. The last was the great day of the sale and the attendance was largely increased. The three remaining copies of Mr. Brinley's seven Indian Bibles were offered, one passing into the hands of Ellsworth Eliot, M.D., a lineal descendant of the apostle Eliot, another to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the third to a private collector. Christopher Saur's extremely rare German Bible, also known as the First Pennsylvania and the first printed in America in a European language, was sold. The day was made still more memorable by the sale of the Gutenberg Bible, the first book printed with types, which was bought by Hamilton Cole, Esq., of New York city, for eight thousand dollars.

Mr. Brinley was not only a successful collector, but a pains-taking and liberal one. When last at the library, he had just returned from a trip to Kentucky in search of one of the rare histories of that State. This he not only found, but said to the writer, that he knew when he was nearing it ; that it grew warmer and warmer, as in the children's game of "hunt the slipper," until he reached it. At this interview, he expressed a willingness to put his collection with those of Mr. James Lenox and Mr. John Carter Brown for preservation. When we consider that three parts of this famous library have brought forty-eight, thirty-three and thirty thousand dollars respectively, the rarity of the collection and the generous offer of the owner, may be better appreciated. Mr. Brinley began, nearly forty years ago, to draw from among our duplicates early New England rarities, and both his earlier and later returns show how he appreciated and remembered our efforts to help build up his great American Library. Whether pages for an Eliot Bible, Mather tracts, or plates for the Massachusetts

Magazine were supplied, he never forgot the service rendered.

We have open exchange accounts with thirty-seven individuals as well as with a large number of societies. The very lack of funds has led us to seek in this way to fill vacancies in our alcoves of specialties, though two exchanges are often required to secure the books we need. The shelves will show that we have been reasonably successful. That the alcoves of Genealogy, Biography, and Rebellion and Slavery literature, may, like the Davis Spanish-American and Thomas Local History alcoves, soon have funds connected with them, is greatly to be desired. The history of the dead institutions of slavery and rebellion will be imperfectly preserved in the library, unless we have some live friend, like Mr. Lawrence of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to take a pecuniary interest in it. Second editions of Regimental Histories, for instance, are almost never met with. This leads naturally to a few words about the society's duplicates; a collection much larger and more valuable than is generally known, even to the members. The lower hall, intended by our President for the temporary use of a Free Public Library for Worcester, is shelved and well filled with a library of classified duplicates. They range in quality from Ayer's almanacs (a parcel of which we have, by the way, recently sold), to rare books and pamphlets not often found on sale. Some of the latter have been known to pass into the hands of collectors, thence to the possession of members of the society, who were obliged to pay the middle-men large profits. The duplicate newspapers bound and unbound have all been arranged in the large attic at the east end of the library building, the same plan being followed as in the Salisbury annex newspaper hall, where the grouping is alphabetical by States and again by cities and towns in the several States, in the interest of local historians. A large part of our duplicates of the Boston News Letter filled important gaps for Harvard College, the

early Boston Gazette and a score of other American newspapers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have materially helped towards completion, or supplied in nearly entire files, the Boston Public Library, while many volumes of the Boston Daily Advertiser have been sent to the National Library at Washington, on the same mission. The donation to the Chicago Historical Society, made shortly after the great fire, included all we had of Chicago newspapers. This society is always willing to receive and bind these bulky parcels of every-day history and should be known as having for sale or exchange much of like material. While a personal examination is preferred, we can usually exchange classified title slips of duplicates. In checking sale catalogues of Americana for purchase or exchange, we have sometimes indicated the titles we could supply, that duplicate orders might be tendered. The question of how best to dispose of this extra material is still an open one, the junk shop, auction-room, book dealers, collectors, kindred libraries rich and poor, and an American Library Association Agency, or clearing-house, each having its advocates. Such an Agency might add to the number of rare books and pamphlets by bringing together odd volumes and valuable fragments. The Philadelphia Mercantile Library Company issued last year a printed catalogue of their duplicates, followed by a long list of books wanted. Cash bids were called for under both headings and it was proposed to exchange what were not sold. We were able to supply some of *their* wants and indicated a large number of *ours*, hoping to receive a satisfactory return under the terms mentioned.

The society's publications are sought for more than ever, securing to us desirable books, and some cash. Applications from new societies as well as from members and others, are so frequently received, that we have thought it important to pick up our own reports wherever found. There are but six sets of the Transactions remaining, the edition of volume two, a part of which was destroyed at the

Stationers' Hall fire in Boston, being nearly exhausted. This *Archæologia Americana* volume two, is perhaps the most valuable of the series, and should be reprinted as soon as the Publication Fund will allow. The Lechford Note Book or Business Record which is to form volume seven, is not yet in press. The Proceedings—the seventy-sixth number of which has just been issued—cannot now be furnished entire, numbers two, three, five, eight, ten and eighteen being out of print, and some of the other early issues nearly so.

The collection of the private editions of papers read before the society by its officers and members, is not complete; a fact to be regretted, as corrections and additions are sometimes made therein and the limited number issued gives them high market value. Hereafter the remainders of Proceedings will be kept in the South-east lobby, first floor, it having been shelved for that purpose, at the charge of the Salisbury Building Fund. The other lobbies and the duplicate room will require the same treatment at no distant day. The severe winter, just passed, has tested the capacity of the large boiler used for warming the Court Houses and Antiquarian Hall, and with the increased feeling of safety, a comfortable degree of heat has been generally furnished. The presence of the janitor during the night could be secured at slight expense, and a still further sense of security be enjoyed. Bars have been placed at the office doors to prevent intrusion, and the alcove safeguards continue to serve their purpose admirably. The Bay Psalm Book, one of our copies of Eliot's Indian Bible, the early editions of Massachusetts Laws, the Mather manuscripts and other articles of great rarity, have been placed in the steel safe in the lower hall. Absolute protection is the order of the day, and the report of the Council Committee on Rules and Orders will no doubt aid us in the enforcement of it. In December last, a copy of Dugald Stewart's "Philosophy of the Human Mind" was returned

to us by President Eliot of Harvard College, it having been lately found in University Hall. It had been borrowed in 1846, by a son of one of the Worcester County Athenæum stockholders, then a member of the college, and thirty-five years later, when he had become the honored President of a sister college, the volume joined its fellows in Antiquarian Library. In our mission of identifying early books, one of the Mather Tracts, long absent from the shelves, and still showing a part of the Thomas book plate and our shelf numbering, has been brought to our notice by a Worcester collector whose wife found it in lot "No. 201 Sermons and Essays," which she purchased from a catalogue of articles shown at the Antique and Art Loan Exhibition, Putnam, Conn., March 15 to 20 inclusive, 1880. It is Cotton Mather's "Much in Little; or Three Brief Essays to Sum up the Whole Christian Religion," Boston, 1702, and is very rare. Mr. Sabin in his *Bibliotheca Americana* mentions no other copy than this of ours, and we earnestly hope it may be returned speedily to the library.

A beginning has been made in Alcove Lists, which are being prepared by Mr. Colton under the general direction of Mr. Salisbury, Jr., and at his expense. Following the shelf lists, will come, what has been so long waited for, a card catalogue. The manuscripts of Rev. William Bentley, D.D., have been carefully examined for Salem items by Mr. Edward Stanley Waters of that city, who has published in the *Salem Gazette*, under the head of "Bentley Notes," twenty-four numbers containing about twelve columns of extracts from them. They have also furnished material towards an Ecclesiastical History of Salem by another hand. All the framed portraits, engravings, maps and silhouettes have been placed upon the walls, and the first step has been taken towards putting the Cabinet of Relics in order.

The Library was represented at the late Library Conference at Washington by Mr. Colton, and various members of

the society were present at that most successful meeting.

In closing, an earnest appeal is made for liberal contributions to the various departments of the library. Let both members and friends bear in mind that nothing will come amiss.

Although the administration of the library for the past few months has lacked the immediate presence of the chief librarian, and so the presence of the best index to its treasures, his counsel and services have been constant.

E. M. BARTON,

ASSISTANT-LIBRARIAN.

Donors and Donations.

FROM MEMBERS.

- AMMIDOWN, HOLMES, Esq., Southbridge.—His Observations on the Tariff.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—One book; forty-three pamphlets; three engravings; three photographs; and the Y. M. C. A. Bulletin, as issued.
- BARTON, WM. SUMNER, Esq., Worcester.—One book; and one hundred and four pamphlets.
- BELL, Hon. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—His Address in Memory of Hon. Ira Perley, LL.D., pronounced before the Alumni Association of Dartmouth College, June 23, 1880.
- BROCK, RICHARD A., Esq., Richmond, Va.—Richmond newspapers containing historical matter communicated by him and others; and one pamphlet.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—One book; and fifty-eight pamphlets, including a set of his reports while Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester.
- CHANDLER, Hon. PELEG W., Boston.—His Memoir and Reminiscences of Governor Andrew.
- CHASE, PLINY E., LL.D., Haverford, Pa.—His Photodynamics; his Photodynamic Notes; a list of his papers, read before the American Philosophical Society; and Haverford College Catalogue for 1880-81.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Five books; twenty-six pamphlets; and files of the Nation, and the Churchman for 1880.
- DEVENS, Hon. CHARLES, Worcester.—His Report for the year 1880 as Attorney-General of the United States.
- ELLIS, Rev. GEORGE E., D.D., Boston.—His Memoir of Jacob Bigelow, M.D., LL.D.
- GREEN, SAMUEL A., M.D., Boston.—The Early Records of Groton, Massachusetts, 1662-1707, edited by Dr. Green; nine books; one hundred and eighty-two pamphlets; and one print.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Esq., Worcester.—His "Relation of the Public Library to the Public Schools."
- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—The Brown University Triennial and Annual Catalogues of 1880; and one pamphlet.
- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Boston.—The United States War Department Weather Bureau daily maps and bulletins, 1872-76.
- HARRIS, CLARENDON, Esq., Worcester.—Three agricultural annuals.
- HAVEN, SAMUEL F., LL.D., Worcester.—One hundred and eight books; nine hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets; thirty-three portraits and views; twenty-three maps and plans; and a large map of St. Lawrence County, N. Y.

- HITCHCOCK, Prof. EDWARD, Amherst.—His annual Statistics of Amherst College.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Twenty copies of the Peirce Generalogy, 1585-1880; Hayden's Eleventh Annual Report of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey; one hundred and thirty-three Nos. of the Congressional Globe; and twenty-seven pamphlets.
- HUNNEWELL, JAMES F., Esq., Charlestown.—His Bibliography of Charlestown and Bunker Hill; and the Journal of the Voyage of the "Missionary Packet," Boston to Honolulu, 1826, by James Hunnewell, with a memoir by his son.
- HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM R., D.D., Worcester.—Ninety pamphlets, chiefly relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—The Memorial of Jean Pierre Purry in behalf of the Colonization of South Carolina, with a prefatory note by Col. Jones.
- LATOUR, Maj. L. A. H., Montreal.—Two pamphlets relating to the Dominion of Canada.
- METCALF, JOHN G., M.D., Mendon.—His Annals of the Town of Mendon from 1659 to 1880; and electroplates of the "Sword in Hard Money."
- NELSON, Hon. THOMAS L., Worcester.—The Boston Gazette or Country Journal of October 6, 1755.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Three books; the Paine Family Records, No. VI.; two hundred and forty-seven pamphlets; eight prints; four photographs; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PÉREZ, Sr. ANDRES AZNAR, Mérida, Yucatan.—Four files of Yucatan newspapers.
- PREBLE, Rear-Admiral GEORGE H., Brookline.—His paper on the Mariner's Compass; and a Japanese map of the Corea.
- SALISBURY, EDWARD E., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—Biographical Memoranda respecting all who ever were members of the class of 1832 in Yale College, edited by Prof. Salisbury, Class Secretary.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Schliemann's "Ilios, City and Country of the Trojans"; Worcester Directories, 1875-79; twenty pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Jr., Esq., Worcester.—Seven copies of the private editions of his Yucatan publications, to fill orders; twelve volumes of the Historical Magazine; eight books; fourteen pamphlets; the Harvard Register, Vols. 1 and 2; La Chronique des Art, 1879-80; and twenty-seven Nos. of the Illustrirte Zeitung.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—His paper on the First Settlement of Granville Township, Ohio; and Hill's History of Licking County, Ohio, 1881.
- SMYTH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—The Andover Theological Seminary General Catalogue, of 1870.
- STONE, Rev. EDWIN M., Providence, R. I.—Allen's First Settlers of New England; and three Providence City Documents.
- THOMPSON, Prof. CHARLES O., Worcester.—Four files of mechanical newspapers; and one hundred and seventy-three pamphlets.

TYLER, MOSES COIT, LL.D., Ann Arbor, Mich.—The Michigan University Book, 1844-1880; and four pamphlets relating to the University.

WASHBURN, Col. JOHN D., Worcester.—His Memorial Address at Lancaster, Mass., May 29, 1880; five hundred and fifty-six Nos. of periodicals, chiefly relating to the subject of insurance; and five of the controversial pamphlets as to the remains of Columbus.

WHITTLESEY, Col. CHARLES, Cleveland, O.—His Early History of Cleveland, Ohio.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His Memoir of Henry Clay; and his Address at the nineteenth meeting of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund.

FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

ALLEN, ZACHARIAH, Esq., Providence, R. I.—His "First Settlers of New England."

ANCONA, Sr. DESIDERIO, Westminster.—One file of a Yucatan newspaper.

AYER & Co., Messrs. J. C., Lowell.—Their Almanac for 1881, in eight languages.

BAILEY, ISAAC H., Esq., Boston.—The Shoe and Leather Annual for 1881; and the Reporter, as issued.

BALDWIN, Messrs. J. D. & Co., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

BARTON, Mrs. IRA M., Worcester.—President Edwards' Practical Sermons, Edinburgh edition, 1788.

BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., Boston.—His "In Memoriam, Rev. F. A. Whitney, H. C., 1833."

BRINLEY, Hon. FRANCIS, Newport, R. I.—His Report of 1880 as President of the Redwood Library and Athenæum Company.

BRINLEY, FAMILY OF THE LATE GEORGE.—One hundred and sixty-four books; and six pamphlets.

BULMER, Mr. J. T., Librarian, Halifax, N. S.—His Report for the year 1880.

BURBANK, Mr. CHARLES W., Worcester.—One hundred pamphlets.

CHASE, GEORGE B., Esq., Boston.—His Letter to the Directors of the Rutland Railroad Company concerning an alteration of their Records.

CHASE, THOMAS, LL.D., Haverford, Pa.—His Report of 1880, as President of Haverford College.

CHAUVERO, Sr. ALFREDO, Mexico.—His Appendix to Duran's Historia de las Indias de Nueva España.

COLTON, Mr. REUBEN, Worcester.—Three pamphlets.

COOK, Miss, Worcester, England.—The Family of Picard.

COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His Gazette, as issued.

CROSBY, Hon. NATHAN, Lowell.—His Reminiscences of Distinguished Men of Essex County.

CULLEY, Hon. ELI, Fitchburg.—His Inaugural Address as Mayor, January 5, 1880.

DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Esq., San Francisco, Cal.—Cremony's Life among the Apaches; and the Californian, as issued.

- DAVIS, JOSEPH E., Esq., Worcester.—“The White House Porcelain Service [Illustrated].”
- DEWEY, Rev. E. P., New York.—His “William Blackstone in his relation to Massachusetts and Rhode Island” and his “Cabo de Baxos or the Place of Cape Cod in the Old Cartography.”
- DICKINSON, Master G. STUART, Worcester.—A collection of amateur newspapers.
- DOD, Messrs. CHARLES H. & CO., Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.
- EALIN, ELIZ., M.D., Northampton.—Two books: two hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; seven hundred and fifty-seven Nos. of the *Friend's Review*; and a file of the *LANCET*, Pa. Journal for 1852-3.
- EALIN, Mrs. SARAH F., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- KNOW, HENRY H., Esq., Charlestown.—One book: eight pamphlets; one wall map of the United States; and three files of newspapers, in continuation.
- EVANS, Prof. HENRY L., Cambridge.—His *Genealogy of the Eustis Family*.
- FISHER, CHARLES H., M.D., Providence, R. I.—His *Rhode Island Registration Report of 1879*.
- FOSTER & HORTON, Messrs., Salem.—Their Gazette, as issued.
- GAY, Mrs. MARY C., Southfield, Conn.—The *Connecticut Courant* for 1880.
- GILBERT, Mr. CHARLES W., Worcester.—The Official Catalogue of the Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880.
- GODDARD & CO., Messrs. E. L., New York.—Their Nation, as issued.
- GRAN, NATHAN H., Esq., Melrose.—The Melrose Town Reports for 1880.
- HALL, Mr. J. BRINKMAN, Worcester.—Three books: three pamphlets; and numbers of the *Sunday Herald*.
- HAMILTON, Mr. CHARLES, Worcester.—Nineteen pamphlets; and two newspapers.
- HARRISON, LEWIS W., Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-eight pamphlets.
- HARRIS, GEORGE H., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His *Necrological Notices, 1880*; “his voyage on the *Beacon of Columbus*”; and the *New Public Buildings on Penn Square*.
- HAYES, Mr. S. F., Worcester.—Ninety-nine numbers of periodicals.
- HEDGECOCK, Hon. CHAS. J., Hartford, Conn.—The *Colonial Records of Connecticut Vols. XI. and XII.*, edited by Mr. Hoadly; and his *Annals of the Episcopal Church in Hartford to the year 1829*.
- HENDERSON, A. D., Esq., Boston.—Twenty-two *Boston Almanacs*.
- HENDERSON, THOS. & CO., Messrs., Boston.—Ten books; and two hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets.
- HENDERSON, FRANK E., Esq., Secretary, New York.—The *New England Journal or New York Reports* for 1865, 1879 and 1880.
- HUGHES, Rev. HENRY B., Boston.—His *Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1880*.
- HUGHES, Mr. EDWARD, Worcester.—An iron shaving from one of the plates of the *Early Boston Provincial Almanac*.
- HUNTER, Hon. EDWARD H., Worcester.—His *Second Inaugural Address as Mayor of Worcester*; and the *Laws and Ordinances of the City of Worcester*.

- KING, Col. HORATIO C., Secretary, New York.—Proceedings at the Eleventh Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.
- KING, Mr. MOSES, Cambridge.—His "Back Bay District and the Vendome."
- KIRKBRIDE, THOMAS S., M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Report of 1879, as Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.
- LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Esq., Worcester.—His Report as Secretary of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, 1880.
- LINCOLN, Gen. WILLIAM S., Worcester.—Two broadsides; and a copy of the Truth, newspaper.
- LOGAN, Mr. THOMAS, Worcester.—Seven books; one pamphlet; and one map.
- LOOMIS, ELIAS, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His Descendants of Joseph Loomis, second edition, 1875; and his Genealogy of the Loomis Family, by the Female Branches, two volumes, 1880.
- MARBLE, ALBERT P., Esq., Worcester.—Five numbers of "Topics of the Day"; and his Report for 1880, as Superintendent of Worcester Public Schools.
- MASON, Prof. OTIS T., Washington, D. C.—Five numbers of his Anthropological Notes.
- METCALF, CALEB B., Esq., Worcester.—Five books; one hundred pamphlets; and two files of newspapers.
- MILES, Mr. CHARLES A., New York.—Jonathan Bagley's Orderly Book of the Abercrombie Expedition of 1758.
- MINNS, THOMAS, Esq., Boston.—A framed photograph of the First Church, Boston, 1880.
- NORTH, Prof. EDWARD, Clinton, N. Y.—Hamilton College Catalogue for 1880-81.
- PARK, Dr. JOHN G., Worcester.—His reports of 1879 and 1880, as Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Clinton, Wis.—The American Antiquarian, Vol. II., No. 2.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His "Summer Days Abroad"; his Episcopal Address, 1880; and his "Proceedings of the General Convention of October, 1877."
- PHILLIPS, Mr. ALBERT M., Worcester.—Record of the Dedication of the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument, Hanover, Mass.
- PHILLIPS, HENRY, Jr., Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His notes of a Denarius of Augustus Cæsar; his Obituary Notice of Peter McCall; his paper on the Burial Place of a Mexican King; Trumbull's McFingal, Boston edition, 1826; and one pamphlet.
- PIERCE, Mr. CHARLES F., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- PIERCE, Mr. EDWARD A., Worcester.—Six wall maps, 1815-1840.
- RICE, Hon. HENRY C., Worcester.—Fourteen books; and seventy-four pamphlets.
- RICE, Hon. WILLIAM W., Worcester.—The President's Message and Documents, 1879-80.
- RICHARDSON, Col. GEO. W., St. John, N. B.—Eight Public Documents; and various newspapers of New Brunswick.

- RIDER, SIDNEY S., Esq., Providence, R. I.—His Rhode Island Historical Tracts, Nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11; and Miller's note on the Wampanoag Tribe of Indians.
- ROE, ALFRED S., Esq., Worcester.—A parcel of amateur newspapers.
- SALISBURY, Mrs. EVELYN McCURDY, New Haven, Conn.—The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and Benjamin Lynde, Jr., with an Appendix. Boston, privately printed.
- SCRIBNER'S SONS, Mr. CHAS., New York.—Bryant's Popular History of the United States, Vol. IV.
- SIGOURNEY, Mr. A. P., Secretary, Watertown, N. Y.—Transactions of the Jefferson County Agricultural Society for 1880.
- SMITH, HENRY M., Esq., Worcester.—His Compilation of Railway Fence Laws.
- SMITH, Mr. JOHN G., Worcester.—Twenty-six numbers of the Casket.
- SPALDING, Mr. E. H., Nashua, N. H.—The New Hampshire Register for 1875.
- STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Esq., Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- TILLEY, R. H., Esq., Newport, R. I.—Four Genealogies; [Turner's Settlers of Aquidneck; and the Newport Historical Magazine, Vol. I., No. 3.
- TURNER, JOHN H., Esq., Ayer.—His Public Spirit, as issued.
- WATERS, Mr. EDW. STANLEY, Salem.—Two books; one pamphlet; and three numbers of the Cherokee Phoenix.
- WHEELER, Mr. HENRY M., Worcester.—The History of Liberty.
- WHEILDON, WILLIAM W., Esq., Concord.—His Curiosities of History, second edition.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Proceedings, Parts II. and III., of 1880.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their Magazine, as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their Bulletins, No. 5, of 1879, and No. 2, of 1880.
- AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings at the twenty-second annual meeting; and Commander Gorringe's "Bronze Crabs of the Obelisk."
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their Transactions, Vol. XV., new series, Part III.; and Proceedings, No. 107.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Their Constitution and By-Laws, with list of officers, fellows and members, January, 1881.
- AMHERST COLLEGE.—The Catalogue for 1880-81.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The Catalogue for 1880-81.
- BOSTON ATHENÆUM.—The Catalogue of the Library, Vol. 4.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—The City Documents for 1880, in three volumes; Suffolk Deeds, Liber 1; Record Commissioners' Report, No. 6; and an account of the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston.

- BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—Their Journal, as issued.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Catalogue of the Charlestown Branch; and the Bulletin, as issued.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—The Seventy-ninth Annual and the General Catalogue of 1873.
- BRITISH TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their Rules, List of Members, etc.
- BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-fourth Annual Report.
- BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Their Proceedings, June 17, 1880.
- CHELSEA, CITY OF.—The Annual Report for 1880; and Roll of Honor in the War of 1861-65.
- CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—A Brief History of the Society; and Rev. Dr. Patterson's Early History of Southern Illinois.
- CITIZENS' NATIONAL BANK.—Forty directories and Public Documents.
- COBDEN CLUB.—The "Financial Reform Almanack" for 1881.
- COLBY UNIVERSITY.—The Triennial Catalogue of 1878.
- COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.—The Triennial Catalogue of 1875.
- COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Its Record, 1754-1876.
- COMMISSION IMPÉRIALE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE, St. Petersburg.—Their Report for the year 1877.
- DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.—The General Catalogue of 1880.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Ancient Deeds from the Indians to the Town of Dedham.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—The Historical Collections, Vol. XVII., Parts 1 and 2; Bulletin, Vol. XII., Nos. 1-9; and five reprints of Institute papers.
- FIFTY-SEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENTAL ASSOCIATION.—Map showing position of the 1st Division, 9th Army Corps, in front of Petersburg, Va., April 1, 1865.
- FIRST CHURCH OF DORCHESTER.—Proceedings at its 250th Anniversary, 1630-1880.
- GROTON, THE TOWN OF.—The Annual Town Reports of 1881.
- HARVARD COLLEGE.—The Annual Reports, 1879-80; and Library Bulletins, Nos. 16 and 17.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—The Twenty-seventh Annual Report.
- HISTORISCHER VEREIN FÜR OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—Their Transactions for 1879.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their Magazine, as issued; and Report of the Council, May 3, 1880.
- LENOX LIBRARY.—Contributions to its Catalogue, No. V., Works of Shakespeare, etc.
- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Bulletin for January, 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—The Public Documents of 1879, in four volumes.
- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Their Proceedings, October 1, to March 9, 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.—The Transactions for 1879, Part II.; and Schedule of Prizes for 1881.

- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Treasurer's Report to March 31, 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS STATE LIBRARY.—The Catalogue of 1880; and Report of Librarian, 1879-80.
- MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Biennial Report of 1881.
- MUSEO NACIONAL DE MÉXICO.—Anales, Tomo II., Entrega 2^a-3^a.
- NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-ninth Annual Report.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Their Memorial Biographies, Vol. I.; Proceedings, October 25th, 1880; Slafter's Report on the Knox Manuscripts; and the Register, as issued.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, Vol. VI., No. 2; and New Jersey Archives, first series, Vol. I.
- NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their Record, as issued.
- OLD RESIDENTS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Lowell, Mass.—Their Contributions, Vol. II., No. 1.
- ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Transactions, 1881.
- NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Proceedings for the year 1880.
- PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.—The Forty-fifth Annual Report.
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings for 1879-80 and 1880-81.
- SAINT LOUIS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Their Contributions to the Archaeology of Missouri, Part 1, Pottery.
- SAINT LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Thirty-fifth Annual Report.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Rhee's Life and Writings of James Smithson; Taylor's Scientific Work of Joseph Henry; Henry on Sound; Powell's Introduction to the Study of the Indian Languages, second edition; and Bransford's Archaeological Researches in Nicaragua.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES.—Their Journal, as issued.
- TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their Record, as issued.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Forty-seven books; and six pamphlets.
- UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT.—Two books; and six pamphlets.
- UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—The Annual Report of the Marine Hospital Service for the year 1880.
- VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, October 19, 1880.
- WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Number one of their Publications.
- WORCESTER COUNTY COMMANDERY OF KNIGHTS TEMPLAR.—Their By-Laws and List of Members, 1878.
- WORCESTER COUNTY FREE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE.—Seventy-six copies of the Tenth Annual Catalogue.
- WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-one files of newspapers.

WORCESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Fifty-seven files of newspapers; one hundred and forty-one pamphlets; and the Lists of Accessions, as issued.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their Publications, Nos. X., XI. and XII.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Number two of their Publications.

YALE COLLEGE.—The Annual Catalogue for 1880-81.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—The Twenty-eighth Annual Report.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—Thirty-five numbers of the Scientific American.

Report of the Treasurer.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully submits his semi-annual report for the six months ending April 18th, 1881.

The various funds in charge of the Treasurer are as follows :—

1. The *Librarian's and General Fund*, established in May, 1831, by a legacy from Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the Society, and originally called "The Twelve Thousand Dollar Fund" (the amount of the legacy), the income of which was to be appropriated to pay the salary of the Librarian, for the purchase of books, and for incidental expenses. The present name has been applied to this fund since April, 1858. The amount of the fund is now \$31,541.20.

2. The *Collection and Research Fund*, originally amounting to \$5,000, was also received from the estate of Dr. Thomas, and was first called "The Fund of Antiquities and Researches," later "The Five Thousand Dollar Fund," and since April, 1858, by its present designation. The income of this fund was to be used for the purpose of exploring the ancient monuments of this continent, and to aid in increasing the library and cabinet. This fund now amounts to \$17,330.32.

3. The *Bookbinding Fund*, created in December, 1855, by the gift from Hon. Stephen Salisbury of \$5,000, the income to be used for the binding of the newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. The present amount of the fund is \$6,178.24.

4. The *Publication Fund*, originally \$6,000, was established in January, 1858, by the voluntary subscriptions of members and others, more than half the amount having been contributed by President Salisbury. Other gifts to the fund have since been made by the members, and it now amounts to \$9,120.25.

5. The *Salisbury Building Fund*, founded in October, 1867, by the gift of \$8,000 from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, was increased by the accumulation of interest to \$13,897.22 in 1877, at which time the plans for the extension of the building had been completed and a contract made for its erection. After paying all charges incurred by the enlargement of the building, the expense of the introduction of steam for heating, and for general repairs in the hall, there remains to the credit of the fund \$462.18.

6. The *Isaac Davis Book Fund*, established in January, 1868, by a gift of \$500 from the Hon. Isaac Davis, of Worcester, since increased by the founder to \$1,500, the present amount. The income of this fund, by the provision of the gift, "is to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying South of the United States."

7. The *Lincoln Legacy Fund*, created in October, 1868, by a legacy of \$1,000 from Hon. Levi Lincoln, the income of which is "to be expended as a premium for the writing of papers on archæological subjects." The fund now amounts to \$1,722.82.

8. The *Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund*, established in February, 1879, by the receipt from the executors of the will of the late Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, of \$1,000. The income of this fund is appropriated to the purchase of local histories.

9. The *Tenney Fund*, created March 29, 1881, from a bequest of \$5,000, received from the executors of the will of the late Joseph A. Tenney, of Worcester. This has not yet been invested, but has been referred to a committee of the

council, who will endeavor to invest it safely at an early day.

The following statement gives in detail the receipts and expenditures for the six months ending April 18, 1881, and the present condition of the several Funds :—

The Librarian's and General Fund.

1880, Oct. 18.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$31,311.03	
1881, April.	Received interest to date,.....	877.00	
" "	" For Life Assessments,.....	100.00	
" "	" Annual Assessments,.....	45.00	
" "	" Tax on Bank Stock refunded,	282.22	
		<hr/>	
		\$32,615.25	
	Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,.....	1,074.05	
		<hr/>	
	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$31,541.20

Invested as follows:

Bank Stock,.....	\$9,400.00
Railroad Stock,.....	1,800.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	12,700.00
Mortgage Notes,.....	6,000.00
Cash,.....	1,641.20
	<hr/>
	\$31,541.20

The Collection and Research Fund.

1880, Oct. 18.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$16,928.17	
1881, April.	Received interest, etc., to date,	681.65	
		<hr/>	
		\$17,609.82	
	Paid for part of Librarian's salary,.....	\$250.00	
" "	" Incidental expenses,.....	29.50	
		<hr/>	
		\$279.50	
			<hr/>
			\$17,330.32

Invested as follows:

Bank Stock,.....	\$6,500.00
Railroad Stock,.....	5,300.00
Railroad Bonds,.....	4,200.00
Worcester Gas Stock,.....	500.00
Cash,	830.32
	<hr/>
	\$17,330.32

The Bookbinding Fund.

1880. Oct. 18.	Balance of Fund,.....	\$6,212.36	
1881. April 18.	Interest, etc., to date,	265.88	
		<hr/>	
		\$6,478.24	
	Paid part of Assistant-Librarian's salary,	300.00	
		<hr/>	
	Present amount of the Fund,.....		\$6,178.24

Invested as follows:

Bank Stock,	\$2,600.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	2,500.00
Cash,	78.24
	<hr/>
	\$6,178.24

The Publishing Fund.

1880. Oct. 18. Balance of Fund,	\$9,115.53
1881. April 18. Interest to date,	305.29

\$9,420.82

Paid for printing Semi-annual Report,	300.57
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Present amount of the Fund,	<hr/>	\$9,120.25
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Invested as follows:

Bank Stock,	\$1,500.00
Railroad Bonds,	5,000.00
City Bond,	1,000.00
Mortgage Note,	550.00
Cash,	1,070.25

\$9,120.25*The Salisbury Building Fund.*

1880. Oct. 18. Balance of Fund,	\$434.71
1881. April 18. Interest to date,	24.00

\$458.71

Paid for repairs on the building,	16.53
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Present amount of the Fund,	<hr/>	\$442.18
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Invested as follows:

Railroad Stock,	\$430.00
Cash,	12.18

\$442.18*The Isaac Davis Book Fund.*

1880. Oct. 18. Balance of Fund,	\$1,519.88
1881. April 18. Interest to date,	42.87

\$1,562.75

Paid for Books,	7.50
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Present amount of the Fund,	<hr/>	\$1,555.25
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Invested as follows:

Railroad Stock,	\$800.00
Bank Stock,	500.00
Cash,	255.25

\$1,555.25

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

1880. Oct. 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,630.51
1881. April 18. Interest to date,.....	92.31
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$1,722.82

Invested as follows:

Bank Stock,	\$1,500.00
Cash,.....	222.82
	<hr/>
	\$1,722.82

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

1880. Oct. 18. Balance of Fund,.....	\$1,027.98
1881. April 18. Interest to date,.....	35.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,062.98
Paid for Local histories,	\$43.88
	<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	\$1,019.10

Invested as follows:

Railroad Bond,.....	\$1,000.00
Cash,.....	19.10
	<hr/>
	\$1,019.10

The Tenney Fund.

1881. April 18. Present amount of the Fund,.....	\$5,000.00
	<hr/>
Total of the nine Funds,.....	\$73,909.36
	<hr/>
Cash on hand included in foregoing statement,	\$9,129.36

Respectfully submitted,

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 18, 1881.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

The undersigned Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 18th, 1881, and find the same to be correct, and properly vouched, and that the securities held by him for the several funds are as stated, and that the balance of cash on hand is accounted for.

EDWARD L. DAVIS, }
CHARLES A. CHASE, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, April 20, 1881.

THE CENTENNIAL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONSTITUTION.

BY ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK.

THE Colony of Massachusetts had hardly secured a firm foothold here as a permanent settlement, exercising the functions of government, when the colonists began to make a demand for a formula of securities or liberties, the equivalent of which is nearly expressed by our term Constitution. The Englishman, removed to a home in Massachusetts Bay, passed at once under the elation and expansion of a conscious freeman. The records of that time reveal to us, as clearly as any history can disclose the consciousness of a generation of men two centuries and a half after their existence, that the freshly arrived immigrant felt the traditional restraints of his European life falling from him, and was consciously invested with new dignity and hope, with new resolve and power. Within four years after the coming of Winthrop the settlers became impatient that their liberties should be registered in clearly defined form and ordinance. This impatience manifested itself as early as 1634 in palpable proceedings, which aimed at having their rights reduced to the letter and form which should limit even the magistrates who had their highest confidence. Having already obtained the right of popular representation by deputies, they secured in 1635 the appointment of a commission, as we should now call it, which should "frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to Magna Charta, which should be received for fundamental laws." This commission, several times changed as to its members, finally secured in 1641 the enactment of the code of a

hundred laws, called the Body of Liberties, of which a copy was discovered in the old Athenæum in Boston by Mr. Francis C. Gray about sixty years ago. This first American code of public and private securities, the Magna Charta of that day, may in a certain sense be termed the first Constitution of this Commonwealth; or rather, reading the articles in the light of all which has happened since, I should venture to call them the Massachusetts Institutes. A perusal of this code cannot fail to vindicate the claim of its author, Nathaniel Ward, minister of the town of Ipswich, to our grateful remembrance for having brought to America great benefits from his study and practice of law in England; and I am sure that every thoughtful reader of this Puritan pandect will cordially concur in the opinion, which forty years ago Mr. Gray pronounced before the Massachusetts Historical Society, that it manifests a quality of wisdom, equity and public adaptation far in advance of the time in which it was written. To this opinion I will add, that after allowance for that portion of these institutes which was derived from the Pentateuch, and which must be accepted as the reflected sentiment of a Theocracy which is scarcely appreciable in our own time, there are other parts of this constitutional breviary which bear the marks of bold and statesmanlike originality fit for the affairs of a complete modern commonwealth. That they may be regarded as having been the forecasting of the coming state, is attested by some of them having since been incorporated into our present Constitution. Although these Fundamentals were adopted for only a term of three years, yet the more important of them passed into the volume of enduring colonial legislation, and aided largely in the gradual framing of the beneficent fabric which now overshadows us with the safety which everybody feels, but which not everybody traces to its simple and august beginning.

During the one hundred and forty-four years which intervened between the founding of the colony and the first

decisive act of Gage at Salem in 1774, which heralded a new era, the people of Massachusetts continued under the government of the charters. But during the whole of this period there was a constant though varying accumulation and cohesion of the elements of a sovereign and free state. Ours was in many respects a free republic from the start, and our provincial annals abound in prophetic signs of coming independence. The spirit of this independence was never in profound sleep, from the first and singular fortifying of the harbor, five years after the advent, to the day of the first levy of arms in the next century. In many of those years kings were so deeply engrossed in home pleasures and home politics, and in many other years the puritans were so deeply engrossed in their own civil and religious strifes, that the reader of events is often diverted from observing the under-current which was steadily bearing the state towards the only ultimate result. This province was at no time without statesmen grounded in the learning of the English Constitution, and in all the progressive stages of the rising local republic their discernment was fully equal to every changing situation. In that school of trial they were practicing themselves for their purpose more rapidly than they knew, and were practicing a more profound policy than was known by their kings. Their purpose as freemen was frequently held in reserve by a masterly suppression, and their assurance as prophets was frequently held in check by a masterly diplomacy. Under Cromwell the Massachusetts puritan moved in straight lines towards independence, under Charles restored the Massachusetts puritan was politic as a Machiavel or a Talleyrand; but under every reign he was constantly advancing in the grooves of destiny, sometimes a little tortuous and sometimes very direct, always towards his freedom. Such drift and purpose must sometime reach its end, and when a king so resolute and obstinate as George the Third sat on the throne, and a puritan so resolute and obstinate as Samuel Adams

directed Massachusetts, the end could no longer be postponed.

The adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 introduced in the several states new forms of government which were without precedent or example in the world. When colonial dependency was annulled and autonomy took its place in thirteen republics, a new method of formulating the will of states came into use and became henceforth distinctively THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. Written constitutions, framed by the people for their own government, and made unalterable even by themselves save in most indubitable and solemn manner, accepted as the only source of power to all administrations and absolute criteria of security to all subjects, have now been in use here during a century and have set us apart from the other peoples of the globe. The adoption of the American plan was a logical necessity. The dissolution of dependency cast Americans upon their own capacity for government with no guidance except their knowledge of history and their own shackled experience. They had grown up in the knowledge of the muniments of the British Constitution, but the elemental principles of that Constitution for public and private liberty lay spread over five centuries and a half since Magna Charta, had never had any existence as a code, and had neither the unity of one fixed interpretation by continuous generations, nor any sanction of immutability. Since English constitutional liberties had been in their origin concessions from the crown, given in times of exceptional popular awakening, even the repetition of the demand and concession from reign to reign had scarcely given the ease of repose to the mind of the subject. According to the authority of Professor Creasy, in his work on the English Constitution, the terms of Magna Charta itself have needed to be confirmed by kings and parliaments upwards of thirty times. Even in the present day of established construction, in which the English constitution has attained a complete solidity of crystalliza-

tion, if we seek to find its rise and growth we have to read with collating care the histories of Hallam and May extending over a period of nearly five hundred years; and after all the reading we come to no such muniments as those of our own written Constitution, founded in a universally acknowledged social compact, "the whole people covenanting with each citizen and each citizen covenanting with the whole people;" so unshackled in outline, so solid in framework, so solemn in sanction, as to be beyond every fear short of revolution. The term unconstitutional as it is used in England bears a signification altogether different from its meaning in Massachusetts. "By the term unconstitutional, [says Hallam], as distinguished from the term illegal, I mean a novelty of much importance, tending to endanger the established laws,"—a definition which scarcely reaches the incisiveness of a decree of unconstitutionality pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal of an American state. It is true that many of the constitutional guaranties which the people of this state a century ago engrafted upon their form of government had been inherited by them, and had become so sacred by tradition and use that no tribunal would ever after have been likely to deny them; but for their double assurance they resolved to re-define them, to reduce them to a system and a code, to add many things which could have had no existence under a monarchy, and to throw about them safeguards of their own creation.

This necessity for a written constitution was reënforced by another consideration. The advance in modern thought on government had at that time reached one important conclusion on this side of the water never before fully recognized on the other, nor indeed recognized there now to anything like the extent of the American opinion. I refer to the strict division of government into coördinate branches, each exclusive of the others, nowhere else expressed as in the American constitutions. There is no one feature of our governments which so clearly ensures the

security of public or private rights as the setting the judicial power solemnly apart as a governing organ of the constitution, beyond the reach of the arm of the executive and legislature; and this was a stage of advancement which had not been made in a degree of perfection anywhere before the American Revolution. The men of Massachusetts saw the necessity of making this eminent consecration of the judiciary certain and enduring by a fundamental liberty recorded in written and unmistakable words. They had seen in the parent country the ultimate decision on judicial appeal lodged in one of the houses of the legislature, and they saw no way of closing the door upon this exposure to abuse, but by a written constitution which should shut off and protect a pure and fearless judiciary against encroachment from any quarter. Englishmen themselves have learned to regard the American plan, under which each coördinate power is protected from every other power by registered constitutional language, as the conservator of every right and interest, of every class and condition; and during their excitement over the Reform Bill fifty years ago, when the upper house barely escaped being swamped by the crown, their conservative statesmen did not hesitate to acknowledge the superior safety of the written constitutions of our states.

The statesmen of Virginia have justly boasted that theirs was the first written constitution, formed by a free and sovereign state, which the world has possessed. The state convention from which this instrument emanated assembled early in May, 1776, several weeks before the subject of recommending new governments in the states was acted on by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and that ancient state may rightfully wear in its coronet this high historical distinction. No other state has the power, no other state has the desire, to dispute this impressive priority in the noblest group of governments of modern time. But the truth of this history is only fully completed in the state-

ment, that nearly two years before that time Massachusetts had initiated proceedings which had the same purpose in view, and had already set up self-government over its domain. On the seventeenth of June, 1774, the date of practical independence in Massachusetts, the last day of any other government and the first day of its own government on its own soil, the house of Assembly, in session at Salem, with its door locked against the governor, while the decree of its dissolution was read on the stairs outside, provided for a provincial house of representatives to take the place of the General Court which was never again to be convened. Massachusetts was launched, somewhat uncereemoniously to be sure, but none the less certainly, the first autonomous republic in America; and Samuel Adams was the master and guide of the event. Before any counsel could come from Philadelphia, because it was before there was any Congress at Philadelphia to give counsel, he commanded the situation at Salem on that historical day, and he first in America turned the key on monarchy. The history of self government in this Commonwealth thus starts with the fact that its people for the space of a whole year were without any direction beyond that of this provincial assembly and of the committee of safety, and that all the while, without any regular executive, and in the presence of hostile arms, they maintained civil order and brought no scandal on liberty or justice. This provincial assembly, stimulated to take another step forward by the affair at Lexington and Concord of April 19th, proceeded on May 16th, 1775, under the counsel of Gen. Warren, to ask the advice of the Congress at Philadelphia upon the best method of exercising the powers of civil government; on June 9th the Congress advised that the colony, accepting the singular hypothesis that the office of Governor was to be treated as vacant, should clothe a newly-chosen Council with the executive power "until a Governor of His Majesty's appointment would consent to govern according to its

charter;" and only ten days afterwards, on June 19th, a call was made for the election of a provincial assembly; which only thirty days later, on July 19th, convened in Watertown. In their anxiety for the maintenance of the civil functions of society the people moved with a rapidity and quietness which illustrated their earnestness of purpose and their solemn sense of responsibility. This body at once elected a new set of councillors to act in the double capacity of legislative and executive administration, with James Bowdoin as their President; thus planting a provisional government upon a fiction of law which was the ultimate as yet reached by the wisdom at Philadelphia, and upon an anomalous confusion of the organs of government which was destined to continue four years longer. Although civil process and appointments were issued in the name of the king, the commission of John Adams as Chief Justice being conferred in that style, the public endured this anomaly with patience until May of 1776. On the first day of that month, now as before acting in advance of the Congress at Philadelphia, the processes and commissions of Massachusetts were ordered by its leaders to run in the name of its "government and people," in lieu of that of the king. This was two weeks before John Adams succeeded on the 15th of May in carrying through the Continental Congress his celebrated resolution for the suppression of every kind of authority of the crown and advising the several colonies to establish their own governments; which resolution itself was adopted two weeks before the question of declaring Independence came to its sublime decision, and which he proudly named the cutting of the Gordian knot. Now for the first time our own legislative assembly took the preliminary steps for forming a State Constitution. Entering upon the subject in June, 1776, the assembly decided on the 17th day of September to advise the people to choose their deputies to the next General Court with full power to frame a Constitution; and this advice was repeated

May 5th, in 1777. Although in the interim after the dissolution of this assembly the people in several public conventions, notably in the County of Worcester, and in many of their town meetings, had insisted upon the calling of a special convention solely for so grave a work as the framing of a new government, yet a majority of the representatives came together fully authorized to enter upon this great business; a joint committee of the Council and assembly agreed upon a constitution, which was approved by the two bodies February 28th, 1778, and was sent out in March for popular ratification. It is one of the omissions in our annals that the proceedings of this committee were never given to the public inspection.

But this constitution, which required the assent of two-thirds of those voting on it to secure its acceptance, received only two thousand of the twelve thousand votes which were returned; partly perhaps because of its imperfect delineation and division of government powers; in part no doubt because it was not accompanied by a Declaration of Rights, on which at that time the popular heart was strongly set; and chiefly because of the general conviction that our organic frame-work of government could properly come only from a convention chosen solely and sacredly for that one piece of work. This first form of a constitution, contrasted with the orderly and stately instrument afterwards framed and adopted, exhibits most glaring defects, whilst some of its incongruities reviewed in the light of the subsequent experience of a century would now fail to command respect. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were to have "a seat and a voice in the Senate;" the Governor was to be president of the Senate; and in the distribution of the functional powers of government "the Governor and Senate" are spoken of in a manner corresponding to our present municipal phraseology of "the mayor and aldermen," in strange mingling of the executive and legislative departments. The instrument contained no provision for

an executive council, and the high power of executive pardon was lodged with the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Speaker of the house of representatives, or "either two of them." Senators for each district were to be chosen by a vote of the whole people of the state. All persons not of the protestant religion were made ineligible to either the executive, legislative or judicial orders of the government. The dignity and independence of the executive were very inadequately provided. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject with further detail. The vote of the people showed that they deemed the structure of this constitution an utter failure, and only one-sixth part of the ballots were given in favor of its acceptance. A remarkable demonstration in the canvass of its merits was made by a convention of many towns of the County of Essex held at Ipswich in April, 1778, which appointed a committee to report upon the true principles of government required for the public safety. At an adjourned meeting of the convention in the following month this committee reported an exhaustive treatise on the whole subject, which became known as "the Essex Result." This argument, understood to be the production of Theophilus Parsons, afterwards the eminent Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, was marked by the intense grasp and comprehensive generalization, by the power of statement and of clearly-drawn distinctions, which in later years distinguished his published opinions, and it must have contributed essentially to the defeat of the proposed constitution. And the people of the state were still without an established government.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams has advanced the opinion "that interests had already grown up, in the period of interregnum, adverse to the establishment of any more permanent government;" and he finds color for this suggestion in the fact that when the legislature in the next year, 1779, took steps for another trial for a new government, it put to the people the composite question, first, whether it

was their will to have a new form of government, and second, whether they would authorize their representatives to call a convention for the sole purpose of framing one. Nor is this suggestion by any means without extraneous support. Massachusetts was moving on its daily life under the momentum of traditional observance of law and order which had grown up under the charters, which had now been modified in practice to a degree that answered the needs of all functional routine through four years of experience; and the conservative force of popular inertia, even amid public crises, is attested by the fact that a very large proportion of the citizens made no return of any action whatever upon the preliminary questions in both attempts for a constitution. Rhode Island lived on under its charter sixty years after the resolution of the Continental Congress had suppressed it, and it remained a mooted question in Connecticut until the year 1818 whether its people had any constitution or not. But the return of the votes upon the question referred to them showed that a majority of our people favored the call of a convention, and on the 17th day of June, 1779, precepts were sent out for the election of delegates, who should assemble in the following September. Accidentally the conjuncture of dates links the beginning and the end of this high enterprise with a day forever set apart in the Western world by the opening battle of the Revolution. On the 17th day of June, 1774, the representatives of the state took at Salem the first step for self-government; on the same day in the next year every retreat was cut off by bloodshed at Charlestown; and on the same day five years later their successors ordered the completion of the work. As the constitution now to be created did not go into effect until October, 1780, it appears that from the eventful day at Salem more than six years were to elapse before the commonwealth should come into possession of a genuine government. It is a tribute which history will ever pay to the heroic energies of that generation of men,

to their capacity for government, to their innate reverence for law and authority, to their strong and enduring sense of nationality, to their love of liberty moderated by their love of justice, that they carried on a free republic through all that period by their unaided self-denial and self-control; that, rather than act hastily in a matter so grave to themselves and their posterity, they endured for six years the uncertainties and inconsistencies of an illusive and baseless fabric of government; that they deemed the benefits of a perfect constitution within their own borders might come only too soon, if attained by abating one jot or tittle of devotion and sacrifice to the common cause of all the states.

The convention which framed the constitution under which we now live assembled in the meeting-house in Cambridge September 1st, 1779, and after seven days took a recess till October 28th, having first committed the task of preparation to a committee of thirty; it re-assembled on the 28th of October, and on the 11th of November took a further recess till January 5th, 1780; on that day it met in the old state house in Boston, but by reason of the bad travelling over the state continued without an efficient quorum till the 27th; on which day the labor was resumed and went on without further interruption until it was completed on the 2d day of March. Of this body, which comprised, as I make out from the journal, three hundred and twelve delegates, James Bowdoin was elected President. Of the exalted character of this assembly no one can hesitate to concur in the opinion expressed by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop in his admirable address on the services of Gov. Bowdoin, that it contained "as great a number of men of learning, talents and patriotism as had ever been convened here at any earlier period;" and I venture to add, that it has not since been equalled by any public body in the state, unless possibly by the next convention which met in 1820. John Adams, Samuel Adams, Hancock, Lowell, Parsons, Cabot, Gorham, Sullivan, Lincoln, Paine, Cushing, Strong,

are but a few of the eminent names which appear on its roll. The journal of its proceedings is exceedingly unmethodical and unsatisfactory, and by reason of the lack of reporters at that time we have scarcely any knowledge of the debates. The committee of thirty, to whom was referred the work of preparing a plan and form of government, intrusted this task to a sub-committee consisting of Bowdoin and the two Adamses; who in turn committed the responsible labor to John Adams alone. His draught of the frame-work was substantially as a whole adopted by the sub-committee, and afterwards by the general committee slightly altered was propounded to the convention. The draught of Mr. Adams, compared with the form in which the constitution was finally adopted, appears to have received several amendments by the convention, but the result of their labors was chiefly as he had blocked it out, and by every rightful title he must be declared the father of our constitution. Judge Lowell said in his eulogy on Bowdoin, that "it was owing to the hints which he occasionally gave, and the part which he took with the committee, that some of the most admired sections in the constitution appeared;" but in comparing John Adams's draught with the ultimate result one cannot easily discover any sufficient supply from other sources to derogate from his title of chief authorship. And we owe it to the truth of history to say, that whilst the galaxy of names already mentioned warrants the belief that the absence of any one of these delegates could not have endangered the prospect of a model constitutional government in Massachusetts, the chieftainship in that creative work must always be assigned to John Adams.

And if he had left no other claim to the gratitude of the commonwealth, this alone would complete his title. As constitutionalist and publicist all other men of his day came at long interval behind him. Madison and Hamilton were a development of the ten years which followed the full manifestation of his powers. Beyond all his associates in

mastery of the whole subject of government, grasping and applying the lessons of historical studies with a prehensile power at that time unprecedented on this continent, and adding to them the original conceptions of a mind of the highest order, he proved of all his contemporaries fittest for constitutional architecture. Having discerned five years before, in advance of everybody, the solution of independence in directing the colonies to establish local governments, he became *doctrinaire* to the delegates at Philadelphia. In the confusion and chaos of thought relating to these subjects which brooded over their minds his counsel was sought by delegates from North Carolina, from Virginia, from New Jersey, to each of whose delegations he furnished formulas of state government; and when he came to the front in the preparation of a constitution for his own state, his mind was already stored for the emergency. His share in framing our own government, and his subsequent writings in defence of the general system adopted by the American states, in refutation of the theories of M. Turgot, this defence being published just in time to bear upon the question of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, furnish sufficient excuse, if indeed excuse were needed, for his boastful declaration, found in the Warren correspondence recently published by the Historical Society: "I made a constitution for Massachusetts, which finally made the constitution of the United States."

Under his direction the convention made a Declaration of Rights to precede the frame-work, almost wholly the work of his hand with the exception of the third article, which he did not attempt to perfect. These are the axioms which are to give direction in future interpretations. Of the eleven original states which made new constitutions,—for Rhode Island and Connecticut continued under their charters, the former until 1842, and the latter until 1818,—six adopted these Bills of Rights, and five left them out. That these declarations of general rights and liberties, most

carefully and solemnly stated, and called Bills of Rights, are not to be regarded as exclusively suggestive of that period of transition from the old dispensation to the new, is shown by the fact that of the twenty-five new states admitted since the Revolution twenty-three have adopted these formularies ; and of the whole present number of thirty-eight states there are still but five which have not accompanied their constitutions with something like a Bill of Rights. Upon this subject the people of Massachusetts were peculiarly sensitive, and the want of a Bill of Rights is believed to have had a leading influence in causing the rejection of the first proposed constitution. Our ancestors deemed it of first importance to make, with every solemnity, declaration of certain fixed principles of reason adapted to the sphere of government, certain abstract theories of natural or civil rights of man under the social compact, as safeguards necessary to immutable liberty. Other sections of the written instrument, other provisions of law, are the outworks ; these are the citadel. Secret approaches by violence, or corruption, or other degeneracy, may span the moat and scale the outer walls of government, but the life of constitutional Liberty is HERE and will "not but by annihilating die." The conclusion of disputed principles, derived out of the usurpations and resistances of past centuries, is here registered in a single paragraph. It is but a small body of words, mere "glittering generalities," but every word glitters as a flaming sword of warning and of ward to the generations. Good words are great things with a free people. Seven words, according to Parsons and Shaw and Gray, abolished slavery in Massachusetts. "These three words, [said Chatham to the lords], *nullus liber homo*, are worth all the classics." The journal of the convention of 1780, barren as it is of anything dramatic, shows that the masters of the period resolved to follow after the Commons of 1688, who gave the word of halt to the Lords in settling the crown upon a new dynasty until a bill of fundamental

liberties had first been assented to. And the earliest motion of business in our own convention related to the Declaration.

In all these formulas of rights adopted by the several states there is a general resemblance of substance and phraseology, but it by no means follows that the first in time was literally progenitor of the common affinity of thought which pervaded them all. Undoubtedly the Bill of Rights of Virginia, which was the first promulgated, was in several particulars largely copied into the others, and by its priority in time, as well as by its excellence for a model, it has laid three generations under tribute of admiration. It was almost solely the production of George Mason, one of the sainted heroes in the history of American constitutional government. Four times since that day Virginia has adopted new constitutions, but, excepting the addition of two or three articles made necessary in 1870 as results of the civil war, the original work of Mason has stood and now stands, after the lapse of one hundred and five years, as it came from his hands. The Massachusetts Declaration is more extended and enunciates more in detail the investiture of the liberties of the citizen subject; and though I must unavoidably be suspected of bias I am free to express the opinion that, as a whole, it is superior to every other similar form in existence, for its comprehensive projecting of the eclectic lessons of history over the future of a new commonwealth, for its repeated inculcation of the duties of religion and education as the primary agencies of civilized states, and for its own simple and solid literature. With the exception of the third article it is the work of Mr. Adams, though in the convention it took on considerable changes in the grouping and the phraseology. It would be difficult to find among the English landmarks of right, in Magna Charta, in the Petition of Right, in the Habeas Corpus, in the Bill of Rights of 1688, any public or private security which, though here modified to fit the modern

situation, is not as well stated in this all-comprising Declaration. In the annals of English legislation we often come upon the historian's phrase—"encroachment upon constitutional principles"—whilst, to learn what the principle is that was encroached upon, one must be well read in five centuries of kings and parliaments, and accept perhaps at last an interpretation from varying schools; but in the simple and elemental aphorisms of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights there is for many of the questions of constitutional encroachment the assurance of speedy and indisputable solution. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, protecting personal liberty and property, which Mr. Hallam sums up as covering the two main rights of civil society, we have repeated the thirty-ninth and fortieth articles of the fundamentals of Magna Charta with more circumstantial definition, but not without some loss of the Gothic strength and grandeur of those ever-memorable sections. The thirtieth and concluding article, defining the separation and protection of each one of the three departments of government from the other two, which was reduced to its present form by changing Mr. Adams's grouping, has not its superior in the terminology of modern constitutions; and its success in expressing the leading thought he aimed to impress upon our constitution, is one of the choice felicities of the whole body of the Declaration. Mr. Rufus Choate speaking of this clause once said: "I never read without a thrill of sublime emotion the concluding words of the Bill of Rights,—‘to the end this may be a government of laws, and not of men.’" With the change of only a single article the entire thirty sections have stood the test of a hundred years, and they still challenge the same tender observance and care from the present generation, which Lord Coke claimed for the best chapter of Magna Charta: "As the gold refiner will not out of the dust, shreds, or shreds of gold, let pass the least crumb, in respect of the excellency of the metal, so ought not the reader to pass any

syllable of this law, in respect of the excellency of the matter."

There are some half-dozen of these articles, promulgating the supreme and fundamental principles which form the ground-work of free government, which are substantially copies from the Declarations of Virginia and Pennsylvania. But since Pennsylvania copied after Virginia, to the last mentioned must be accorded the historical honors. John Adams was perfectly familiar with every circumstance and detail of the history of the proceedings in both of those states. He himself said that the Bill of Rights of Pennsylvania was taken almost verbatim from that of Virginia, which was made and published several weeks before; and in conversation with M. Marbois in June, 1779, just before he came home to find himself elected a delegate to our convention, he gave the names of the four men who framed the Pennsylvania Declaration. Much has been said and written in our local historical circles about the authorship of the Massachusetts famous first article, "All men are born free and equal," &c., but it would seem the product of all these inquiries and speculations must lie at last in the simple conclusion, that this section has come to us in the sole personal draught of Mr. Adams, and that he in turn had before him the same in the original as it came from Virginia. This is one of the conclusions established by Mr. Charles Deane in a recent paper published by the Historical Society. The record ought to be conclusive. But it would be quite unphilosophical to suppose that the primordial conception of the idea of the congenital freedom and equality of men belongs exclusively to any one of these forefathers. Not to George Mason, nor to Thomas Jefferson, nor to John Adams, do we owe an inheritance of this thought. It was in the air of that day. It is said there are climates of opinion; and I may add there are epidemics of phrase. From time far back there have been periods of the public consciousness of the rights of man, and it would

be difficult to find a time when human nature has not been conscious of its rights; and these rights have found expression in one epoch only to be paraphrased after long interval in a following epoch. The central thought of the twelfth article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, expressed by Mr. Adams in 1779, may be seen as well expressed by Nathaniel Ward in the first article of the Body of Liberties in 1641, and it was set forth with a strength superior to both in the thirty-ninth article of Magna Charta of 1215. These are not inherited rights; they come to us from our Creator. As to concrete form they may be traced to an origin among the customs of the English people and the English barons, and as for their phraseology in expression it is a matter rather of curiosity than of utility whether we take rest from our inquiries in Locke or Sidney, in Filmer or Bellarmine.

There is a curious coincidence in the conduct of George Mason and John Adams of their respective Bills of Rights relating to the subject of religion, and in the public results which flowed from that conduct. Mr. Mason reported, in his sixteenth article, toleration for all forms of religion, when Episcopacy was, so to speak, the state religion of Virginia. The youthful James Madison, then making the first step in a brilliant and beneficent career, contested the language and obtained an amendment predicated on the natural right of all men to the free exercise of religion, excluding the idea of toleration. This action resulted in the speedy legislation which put an end to the advantage of any one sect of christians over another, and left the whole domain of religious thought in Virginia without a trace of compulsion or restraint. Mr. Adams assented to a compulsory support of religious worship, reported in the third article of our Declaration, when Congregationalism was, so to speak, the state religion of Massachusetts, though he disclaimed personal responsibility for the article; and this article, subsequently made even more narrow and stringent

in the constitution, adherent to religious communion upon the people of Massachusetts which I took half a century afterwards in regard.

Following the Declaration of Rights came the plan or form of government. On this point Mr. Adams had the opportunity to express, in clear and convincing language, his maturest conception of a government fit for a free republic, which he enumerated in the preamble for three organs of governing power, a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary. Five years earlier, in his conferences with public men at Philadelphia, he had met with a quite common preference for one sole legislative assembly, which should absorb all functions of government, itself legislating and itself also selecting the executive and judicial agencies. This principle was adopted by Pennsylvania in its constitution of 1776, which remained in force till 1791, after the constitution of the United States had been ratified: and a similar form of government was created by Georgia in 1777 and continued until 1789. Though no other of the thirteen states accepted this theory, it has been made evident that in 1775 and 1776 it had a strong support in high quarters. Dr. Franklin favored it, and according to the authority of Mr. Adams, his colleagues, Cushing, Paine and Samuel Adams, favored it, though no evidence appears that they adhered to such opinion when called to act in the convention of 1780. He distinctly states that, when the subject of recommending the setting up of state governments was before Congress in 1775, it seemed to him most natural for that body to agree upon a form of state government and send it out to all the states for their adoption; but, he says, "I dared not make such a motion because I knew that every one of my friends, and all of those who were most zealous for assuming governments, had at that time no idea of any other government but a contemptible legislature in one assembly, with committees for executive magistrates and judges." This was very properly termed an unbalanced

government, and such a theory, whether fresh from France or acclimated here, he opposed with great vigor in his reply to the disquisitions of M. Turgot. He would set up the three bulwarks of the English Constitution, king, lords, and commons, modified in the form of governor, assembly, and senate, adding an isolated and absolutely independent judiciary, without the British imperfection which then made the upper house a depository of judicial appeal. As far back as January, 1776, five months before the action of Virginia, six months before the action of Pennsylvania, and before any one of the colonies had taken up the subject for deliberation, when invited by the colonial legislature of North Carolina to give them his views on government, he unfolded his system in a letter to John Penn in language which he afterwards repeated in framing the constitution of Massachusetts; the same separation of the executive from the legislature, the same balance of dual legislative houses, the same great barriers thrown up around the judiciary. The legal literature of this country does not furnish a more impressive statement of the necessity of an elevated judicial organ in the government, of the method for obtaining it, and of the guards which should surround and protect it, than the following passage which I quote at length from this letter as a motto for the people of the state in all time to come :

“The stability of government, in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every other blessing of society and social institutions, depend so much upon an able and impartial administration of justice, that the judicial power should be separated from the legislative and executive, and independent upon both; the judges should be men of experience in the laws, of exemplary morals, invincible patience, unruffled calmness, and indefatigable application; their minds should not be distracted with complicated, jarring interests; they should not be dependent on any man or body of men; they should lean to none, be subservient to none, nor more complaisant to one than another. To

this end, they should hold estates for life in their offices ; or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior, and their salaries ascertained and established by law."

It is not singular that North Carolina, to which state these sentiments were addressed, in its first constitution, in 1776, ordered the appointment of its higher judges to be made during good behavior, and that this provision continued undisturbed through ninety-two years, down to the convention of 1868, which convened under a call issued by a Major-General of the army of the United States. It is not singular that these sentiments were accepted in a similar provision of the first constitutions of nine of the eleven states which framed new governments, though many of them have since taken a wide departure from the principle. And least of all is it singular that the same sentiments were registered in the organic law of our own commonwealth, which has enjoyed the fruitage of them through a whole century. The philosophy of the master was first directed to this subject when the British parliament provided that the salaries of the colonial judges of Massachusetts might be paid by the king, and he then aroused the attention of the colony to scent the first approach of encroachment upon the independence of the judiciary.

The frame-work of the constitution as it came from the hands of the committee of thirty underwent but few changes in the substance. Mr. Adams advocated investing the executive with the power of an absolute and unalterable negative upon the laws, which was changed to a qualified veto by the convention. Of the eleven state constitutions originally adopted, Massachusetts alone accepted this doctrine in its modern form ; New York lodging the power in a joint council of the Governor, Chancellor and two Supreme Judges, South Carolina sanctioning it for but two years, while all the other states refused admittance to the principle. Mr. Adams, having been called away from the con-

vention upon his mission abroad, was not in attendance when his form of absolute executive power of veto was changed to the qualified form, but he wrote from Amsterdam on the second of October, 1780, that the Massachusetts constitution, then publishing in the public papers of Europe, was received with general favor, and that this particular provision met with European approval and received also his own assent. The same measure of the veto power was afterwards incorporated into the constitution of the United States, and though its exercise in periods of party excitement has been frequently assailed, and the principle itself has been threatened with repeal, it has made its way into most of the state governments and may now be regarded as a part of the American system. Whilst this state was almost alone in its original adoption, the example has been followed by other states, until now only three of the old thirteen are without it, and of the whole number of states thirty have incorporated it in their governments, leaving but eight that disown it. For illustrating the desire of our ancestors for a government clothing the governor with full and independent powers, I may mention that in many of the towns the people voted against accepting those sections which seemed to them deficient in the strong executive prerogatives necessary for the time. The appointment of militia officers, lodged by the committee's report in the Executive, was by the convention changed to election by the companies or otherwise, and though deemed an important change by the author this has caused no trouble in practical operation. The material alterations from the committee's report were so few and inconsiderable that I will not follow out the topic.

In filling up the outline of the framework to attain the comprehensive purpose of three grand, distinctive, and coördinate organs of governing sovereignty, balancing and checking each other, yet protecting and serving each other, the analogies of the English system and the colonial cus-

forms and laws of a century and a half, were retained and modified by the access of new forms. The king, the lords and commons, became our Governor, Senate and House of Representatives, modified by our situation, but not essentially changed in elementary principles. Great Britain has been termed a republic with a permanent executive, of which last feature our system was left clear by universal consent. The British judicial life tenure, and the removal of judges by address, were retained as they had come from William and Mary. The confusion of legislative, executive and judicial functions involved in the lord chancellor being a politician of the cabinet, and in the lords being a court of appeal, were wisely rejected from our system: the Governor's council bore analogy to the privy council of England, but was freed at once from the incompatibilities which had grown up under the charter by which executive and legislative prerogatives were illogically mingled: the expression of all legislative power under the term of "the General Court" was still as Winthrop's administration under the charter: the voice of a house of representatives was positive from the earliest days of the colony in 1630, when the levy of taxes by the magistrates led to resistance: the Senate came from the ancient Assistants, being now stripped of executive and judicial authority: the check of the two houses upon each other dates backward to the civil strife which arose from the impounding of the colonial stores: the right of town representation in the assembly had its origin in that early time when but eight towns lay about Boston, as a crescent filling with the destiny of the future commonwealth: the two sessions of the general court were descended from the year 1636: the requirement of local residence of the representative came of the conflict of some recusant Bostonians who, in Phipps's government in 1694, held seats for country towns, after the manner of the British parliament, to be rid of whom the Governor's party passed the resident act, now become the

general practice of America; the restriction of suffrage was an English and colonial inheritance; compulsory taxation for compulsory religious worship lingered longest and last of the relics of the puritan period, in which the idea of a perfect church and the idea of a perfect commonwealth were inseparable. I will not pursue the thought of the sources of derivative supply to the constitution, since I shall have to touch upon some of them in speaking of the changes which the century has made in this venerable instrument; but one subject, to which was assigned pre-eminent importance, cannot be passed over by any citizen who seeks to find in government one of the chief fountains of public virtue and stability.

The second section of chapter fifth, relating to "the encouragement of literature, &c.," is a distinguishing feature of the Massachusetts constitution. The earlier provisions in the governments of other states for education were meagre and unworthy. In most of them there was no injunction whatever relating to this subject, and in the few which noticed the matter at all, with a single exception, the only inculcation of the kind was degraded by the remarkable precaution of requiring "instruction of youth at low prices," a phrase used in at least three of these constitutions. The treatment given by the following section to this duty of government raises the subject to a plane of elevation fitly occupied by a state which established a university and a system of public schools in the infancy of its settlement. It has stood through a century without the change of a syllable, and it deserves to be cited at length at this starting point of the second century under the constitution:

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of

legislators and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people."

The incorporation into the constitution of this concise and unique summary of the higher obligations of government, covering the whole domain of general and special education, of ethical and social sentiment, of all the humanities and benignities necessary to the best attainable social condition, was many steps in advance of every constitutional provision hitherto known, and was original and without a precedent. This episode in constitutional precepts at once made a deep impression upon the public mind. In their answer to the first message of Gov. Hancock the two houses of the legislature quoted largely from this now celebrated section and gave assurance, for themselves and their successors, of a faithful practice of the precepts. I need not say how truly legislation has followed this organic instruction, in grants from the public domain and from the treasury to colleges, academies, and the free schools through three generations; in developing the capacity of the soil; in building up a system of public charities and reformatories of which the outlines for models are visited from afar; nor can I fail in my observation to trace back to this source of inspiration somewhat of the endurance, patience and encouragement which has sustained a Howe, a Mann, a Sears, all our high workmen and benefactors in the interests of philanthropy and education. The unfolding of that narra-

tive would be too large for the present occasion. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in his fourth volume of the works of his ancestor, has made public the curious private history of this epitome of the moral duties of government. The author was in Europe when this section was voted on by the convention, and he felt apprehensive lest the injunction to cultivate "good humor" among the people might be struck out by the delegates. It happened singularly enough that this section was copied into the constitution of New Hampshire, adopted in 1784, and again in its frame of government of 1792, where it now stands, in each instance with the "good humor" left out. The author was also solicitous lest the "natural history" might be rejected by the convention. His own amusing account of the origin of this phrase of constitutional duty, traceable to the interest he took in a certain collection of American birds and insects he visited at Norwalk, Connecticut, on his journeys to and from the Continental Congress, and afterwards in similar collections in Paris, rises to the height of forecast and prophecy when considered with the illustrations of our subsequent history. The collection at Norwalk was suggestive of results which he probably then little apprehended, for in carrying out this provision of the constitution Massachusetts has passed beyond all other American states in developing this department of "natural history." To illustrate this I need only mention, among the works published under authority of the legislature, the reports on the fishes, reptiles and birds of Massachusetts, the first two written by Dr. Storer, and the last by W. B. O. Peabody; the reports on our herbaceous plants and quadrupeds, the former by Chester Dewey, the latter by Ebenezer Emmons; the report on insects injurious to vegetation by Dr. Harris; the report on our invertebrata by Gould and Binney; the great work of geological survey by Hitchcock; a report on the trees and shrubs natural to our forests, by George B. Emerson; the munificent endowments by the state of the Society of

Natural History and the Institute of Technology; and last, but by no means least, its generous contribution to the broad foundation and subsequent support of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, in which the commonwealth may be said to have entered into partnership of fame with the illustrious scientist whose name will forever be associated with the institution.

On the second of March, 1780, the finishing touches having been put to the constitution, it was finally adopted by the convention and ordered to be submitted to the people for their judgment, and the delegates adjourned to meet in the Brattle street meeting-house on the seventh of June, to ascertain and declare the result. Although the instrument made the suffrage dependent on a property qualification in the future elections of state officers, yet it had been provided that in the vote upon the adoption of the constitution itself all free male inhabitants, twenty-one years old, might cast their ballot. Upon re-assembling and counting the votes upon all the propositions the delegates declared the entire constitution to have been adopted. The form of government of Massachusetts, under which its present population, rapidly nearing two million souls, enjoy a degree of comfort and contentment not surpassed by the same number elsewhere on the globe, was "ordained by the people"—using the language of John Quincy Adams—"that is to say, by more than two-thirds of about fifteen thousand persons who voted upon it, out of a population of three hundred and fifty thousand, or one vote for every thirty-five souls." On the twenty-fifth day of October, the first elected chief magistrate, Governor Hancock, took the oath of office in the presence of the two houses of the legislature in the old state house, proclamation being made from the balcony by the Secretary and repeated by the Sheriff of Suffolk; and we are assured that "joy was diffused through the countenances of the citizens," that three companies paraded State street, that volleys were fired, and salvos of

cannon from the castle and Fort Hill and on board the shipping in the harbor. At the services which followed in the "old brick meeting-house" Dr. Cooper preached a sermon from Jeremiah: "And their congregation shall be established before me; and their nobles shall be of themselves; and their Governor shall proceed from the midst of them." After which the executive and the members of the two houses were escorted to Faneuil Hall, in which a feast with thirteen toasts completed the simple and frugal ceremonies of inaugurating a new government and a new age for the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

During the century which has since elapsed the three branches of the government and the people themselves have in the main acted in good faith towards their form of government, and the steadiness and intelligence which have marked these mutual relations reflects equal honor upon the wise provisions of the constitution and upon the character of the commonwealth, which has thus far measured to it the whole duration of its civil life. There has been no appreciable abandoning or dropping below the criterion established by the founders, and now entering the second century it is permitted us to say that the original spirit of the declaration and frame-work has constantly inspired the three practical functions of its legislation, interpretation and execution. Very early after this government went into operation an occasion arose to test the fidelity of its administration to the Declaration of Rights. Under the supreme clause of the first article of the Bill of Rights slavery was abolished on the first opportunity. There has been at different times much inquiry in relation to the share this first article bore in the decision of the case in Worcester County which, in 1783, put an end to slavery in this commonwealth. On the one side it has been said that the words "all men are born free and equal," were one of the phrases of the period, having no more relation to slavery in Massachusetts than the same language bore to slavery in Virginia,

whose bill of rights first introduced it there. And singularly it occurs that this hypothesis receives support from a letter upon the subject of slavery, written by John Adams himself to Dr. Belknap, March 21, 1795, recently published in the Belknap Papers by the Historical Society, in which the father of the constitution says of slavery:—"It is a subject to which I have never given any particular attention." There being no judicial reports of the time in which the Worcester case was decided, the question has been held to some extent open as to the direct and tactual bearing this first article may have had upon that decision. Chief Justice Parsons, himself a member of the constitutional convention, declared in 1808, that "in the first action involving the right of the master, which came before the Supreme Court after the establishment of the constitution, the judges declared that by virtue of the first article of the declaration of rights slavery in this state was no more." Chief Justice Shaw, in a subsequent case, seemed to doubt how far the adoption of the English opinion in *Somerset's* case, and the first article of our declaration, may have respectively shared in the decision referred to. But I think great weight is due to the suggestion of the present learned Chief Justice Gray, contained in a paper recently presented to the Historical Society, reminding us that Chief Justice Cushing and Associate Justices Sargeant, Sewall, Sullivan and Sumner, sitting in the case, and Lincoln and Strong of counsel, and Paine for the government, were all members of the convention of 1780, which adopted, and all but three members of the committee of thirty which reported, this article. It appears to me, therefore, that however difficult it may be to determine how far the intention of the framers of the article related to this particular question, the weight of reason and authority is decisively in favor of the conclusion that the judges decreed the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts as one of the effects of the Bill of Rights. Judicial interpretation of the constitutional

effect of an article must be final, though the field is never closed to archæological curiosity as to the intention of its framers. And whilst the court may have justly given to this article an interpretation lying beyond the thought of its framers, so it is still competent for the curious searcher to maintain with Dr. Belknap that it was public opinion which abolished slavery in Massachusetts.

The sense of constitutional responsibility of administration was soon brought under the most severe ordeal of our history in the Shays rebellion, which occurred in 1786 and 1787. Both the beginning and the suppression of this memorable revolt may, in one sense, be ascribed to the lofty integrity of the early magistrates and their resolve to hold the government and the people in full accord with the standard of the framers. The discontent which ended in arms grew up out of the exhaustion of finance and hope, public and private, and out of the vast debt, state and national, which were consequent upon the war; and it combined all those elements of popular sympathy which spring from a depreciated currency, from wide-spread poverty and despair. It has seemed to me quite likely that a timid, hesitating policy on the part of the administration, a little lowering of the constitutional tone, a little yielding and weakness and false promise, might have put off perhaps indefinitely the shock. But the wise constitutionalists of that day saw that weakness in such a crisis would lead to fatal degeneracy. At a time when depression was at its worst, in 1785, Governor Bowdoin, who had presided over the constitutional convention and borne a responsible share in its great work, on taking the chair of state uttered no uncertain sound, but insisted upon such measures of taxation as should maintain unimpaired the public credit. In his address upon the life of this magistrate Mr. Winthrop has not too strongly illustrated the service he rendered by impressing on the legislature and the people the benefits of keeping faith with the constitution by practicing the highest public morals in the

darkest period. The same spirit spread to the other functionaries of administration. There is no passage in the annals of the state more dramatic and sublime than those which have recorded the firmness of the judges in that time of threatened anarchy, in which a Justice, who had served with honor under a high commission in the war of the nation, now crowned that distinction by upholding the constitution and laws in the presence of armed insurgents. After the interval of nearly a century it behooves us to recall with gratitude the conduct of these men in giving to the first operations of the government a character which has not been lost in the lapse of years. Their determination, their tone and temper, passed into the next era, and though they personally suffered from temporary disparagement and obloquy, the force of their example survived to the next generation and even to our own time. The commonwealth which under Bowdoin in 1786-7, in behalf of a public credit which should be perpetual, was reduced to the necessity of borrowing money of citizens of Boston to enable it to defend the constitution against open insurrection, afterwards still proved its steadfastness to that early lesson, when, seventy-seven years later, in the midst of flagrant national war, it paid its principal and interest in gold, whilst depreciation reigned in many other quarters supreme. The example of good faith to the constitution, taught by the fathers of the government, has survived the century.

The convention of 1780 provided that after the expiration of fifteen years, in 1795, it should be submitted to the people to say whether they desired to call another convention for revising the form of government, and that if two-thirds of those voting on the question should respond in the affirmative, such convention should be chosen and convened. Acting in conformity to this provision the people decided in 1795 against the proposition, and through a period of forty years from its establishment the constitution remained without any alteration and without any provision for its

future revision. In 1820, by reason of the district of Maine having been set off as an independent state, a constitutional convention was duly ordered by the legislature and the people, and assembled at the state house on the fifteenth of November. This was one of the most celebrated bodies of men which has ever assembled in this commonwealth, alike for the standing of the delegates and the ability and decorum of the debates. The list of its members comprised such names as John Adams and Daniel Webster, Story and Parker, Shaw and Wilde, Lincoln and Hoar, Jackson and Prescott, Quincy and Blake, Savage and Hubbard, Saltonstall and Hale, and many others then or afterwards eminent in the state and nation. The journal of this convention is among the things lost, and the commonwealth will ever be indebted to Mr. Nathan Hale for a complete record of its proceedings and discussions, made up at the time, comprised in a volume of nearly seven hundred pages of inestimable value. Mr. Adams was chosen President but in consequence of the infirmities of age, he being then in his eighty-sixth year, he declined the position, and Chief Justice Parker was elected to the office. This convention continued in session until the ninth of January. In perusing the report of these remarkable discussions one can scarcely fail to observe, that if supremacy or superiority should be assigned to any one among so many civil masters, the convention itself appears from time to time to have set that distinction upon Mr. Webster. He was then thirty-eight years old, and then for the first time he came foremost to the front in Massachusetts. It was during the sessions of this body that he pronounced his address at Plymouth which placed him before all others for a kind of eloquence which bears within itself the assurance of durability. One other convention assembled in 1853 to consider amendments of the constitution, of which the proceedings and discussions were reported in three immense volumes, but as the result of its deliberations was altogether rejected by

the people it does not come properly under the survey of this paper. Any careful reader of the debates of these two public bodies of 1820 and 1853, will readily perceive that in the former it appears to have been difficult to induce the members to accept any change in the organic law, whilst in the latter it appears to have been difficult to prevent the acceptance of any alteration. The one deliberated at a time in which no party strife existed, whilst the other was itself in some degree the outgrowth of party strife, and its deliberations reflected strongly the party politics of the day.

In the last sixty years twenty-seven amendments have been incorporated into the constitution, many of which may be grouped together in this paper for simplicity and brevity of statement. Several of these require only mention without comment. Such are the following, numbering them in the order of their adoption: *First*, a bill or resolve, if not signed by the Governor nor returned with his veto, is not to become a law if the legislature adjourn within five days after the same has been laid before him; *second*, the legislature is empowered to constitute city governments in towns having twelve thousand inhabitants; *fourth*, the appointment of notaries public is transferred from the legislature to the governor; *fifth*, minors enrolled in the militia are clothed with the right to vote in election of company officers; *eighth*, certain officers of the state and of the United States are excluded from executive and legislative office in this commonwealth; *twenty-seventh*, instructors of Harvard College are made eligible to the legislature; the *twenty-third*, limiting the enfranchisement of certain naturalized persons of foreign birth, is annulled by the *twenty-sixth*. These eight articles have failed to impress the public mind as much affecting any grave principles of the government. Articles *sixth* and *seventh* greatly reduce and simplify the oath of allegiance formerly taken by civil and military officers of the state, and rescind the declaration originally required of the executive and legislative officers

of their belief in the Christian religion. The remaining articles of amendment bear a more important and appreciable relation to the original frame of the constitution.

The *third* amendment framed by the convention of 1820, and the *twentieth* adopted in 1857, made a radical change in the qualifications for voting at elections. The original constitution required on the part of the voter a freehold estate within the commonwealth of the annual income of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds. This restriction of the suffrage to the possession of property was in some measure an inheritance of the people of this country, though greatly reduced from the extent prevailing in England, and in their original constitutions I believe all the states except three had similar requirements of freehold or other property. This limitation continued in Massachusetts forty years, and in the social condition of that period it worked no especial hardship. There were here a yeomanry at that time, and a spirit of simplicity and contentment. But the change of industries and activities incident to the advance of a more commercial age made the restriction difficult of application, and it was stated in the convention of 1820 that it had in practice become to some extent a farce and a mockery not conducive to public honesty. Accordingly in conformity to the whole drift of our time suffrage was thrown open to all male inhabitants of twenty-one years, by whom or for whom a state or county tax has been paid within two years in the state, having resided in the state one year and in the town six months, paupers and persons under guardianship excepted. The other change in the qualification for voting was made by the *twentieth* amendment in 1859, which excludes from the right of suffrage and of election to office every person who is not able to read the constitution of the state in the English language and to write his name. Thus it was the purpose of the one amendment to enlarge suffrage as to the possession of property qualification, and of the other

amendment to bring it under a new restriction as to the possession of intelligence. This last article has now been in existence more than twenty years, and whatever doubts may be entertained on account of its limited and artificial method of application, it seems to be regarded as the settled policy of the state.

These restrictions of the right of suffrage are frequently criticised in party discussions in the Congress of the United States, but rarely with an intelligent understanding of their limited effects in practice, and still more rarely in a spirit of justice towards the motive and purpose which induced their adoption. But more strange still are the strictures sometimes published by theoretical writers here at home in relation to the great reduction which has been made in the property qualification. It has been spoken of by pessimist writers as equivalent to universal suffrage, and our system of popular elections under this rule has been pronounced a failure. And this is said in Massachusetts at a time in which no man of observation and candor can fail to perceive that from its legislation and from its judicature the spirit of intelligent reform and progress, of equity and justice, of liberty regulated by law and law tempered by liberty, is reflected in at least as clear and broad light as at any former period; at a time in which, as we believe, all the characteristics of an advanced civilized state, so happily grouped in John Adams's memorable Fifth Chapter of seventeen hundred and eighty, are here more generally and securely enjoyed than in any other quarter.

There is a group of ten articles of amendment, adopted by the people at different times, of which some were afterwards annulled by the adoption of others, all of which may be briefly stated by their subjects, which are nearly related. These articles are the *tenth*, *twelfth*, *thirteenth*, *fifteenth*, *sixteenth*, *seventeenth*, *twenty-first*, *twenty-second*, *twenty-fourth*, and *twenty-fifth*, and it is only necessary to state the effect of them. 1. They have changed the political year

from May to January, and have established one annual session of the legislature instead of two, and have transferred the time of the state election to the month of November. 2. They have fixed the number of councillors as eight, and have constituted the same number of districts in which these officers are severally to be chosen by the people from their own number. 3. The number of Senators has been established as forty, and the commonwealth is divided up into the same number of senatorial districts, determined by the number of legal voters, who shall respectively elect from their own number the forty senators, thus doing away with the former apportionment to the counties as senatorial districts. By these alterations also have been swept away the original restriction of election as senator to persons having a freehold of three hundred pounds, or personal estate of six hundred pounds in value, and the restriction of eligibility to the house of representatives to persons having a freehold of one hundred pounds, or ratable estate of two hundred pounds. And furthermore, under these amendments, the old provision of property basis for the senate, that is to say, of apportioning to the senatorial districts their respective number of senators according to the proportion of public taxes paid by said districts respectively, disappeared in 1840. The original provision, placing the senate basis on property, was debated in the convention of 1820, with perhaps greater vigor and eloquence than any other question, the late Governor Lincoln being in the lead of the champions on the side of the popular right, and Mr. Webster defending the property side by most elaborate reasoning, aided by Judge Story in mingled argument and declamation, and by many others who shared in the discussion. The old time reasoning, that the Senate was the citadel of property and the House of popular rights, was worked and almost overworked in the discussion, and prevailed with the delegates. Strangely enough, this debate, which was perhaps the ablest of all the debates in that convention of

men so eminent, could not now easily be made palpable to the appreciation of a tenth part of the three hundred thousand voters in the commonwealth, and was so far forgotten only twenty years afterwards, that an amendment basing the apportionment of senators upon the simple number of citizens qualified to vote, was accepted by the people as one of the ripe fruits of modern experience. The only state whose constitution contained this, or any similar provision, was New Hampshire, in which, unless annulled within the last four years, it still remains unchanged, but to what extent it is carried out in practice, a stranger may not be presumed to know. 4. These articles have one after another entirely altered the number and apportionment of representatives to the general court, and the last article adopted in 1857, has reduced the house of representatives to two hundred and forty members, and has provided for the apportionment in representative districts, abolishing the system of town or corporation representation, which had existed two hundred and twenty years. No other question in our annals has been so frequently and fully discussed as this, and the debates upon it if compiled would fill many ponderous volumes. Representation by towns was one of the earliest things established in the first days of the colony, and as far back as 1641, this right was registered as the sixty-second fundamental in the constitutional code of the Body of Liberties. The history of the subject illustrates the cumulative force of custom and the difficulty of overcoming traditional practice, even after it has become incongruous and impracticable. If, in the days of Winthrop's administration, any other than the town system of representation had been fixed upon, it may be presumed there might have been a less strenuous adherence to it; but the long enjoyment of the right by the several small and homogeneous communities in the townships endeared it to them as a thing almost sacred. The customs, the *consuetudines* of the Anglo-Saxon race have for six centuries been among the things least sus-

ceptible of change. The method of election by districts, which has now been in use for twenty-four years, may be deemed one of those steps of reform which are rarely reversed, and it is in accord with the principle adopted by all of the states of this union, except the five other states of New England which still adhere substantially to the traditions of the period of the early settlements. 6. By the same group of amendments the secretary, treasurer, auditor, and attorney general, usually termed executive officers on the ticket with the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, are made annually elective by the whole people from their own number.

By the *fourteenth* amendment, 1855, in the election of all civil officers of the state, provided for by the constitution, the rule of plurality of votes has taken the place of that of a majority. The general degree, not merely of acquiescence but of satisfaction, which has been manifested for twenty-five years under the operation of this provision, adds another to the hundreds of illustrations of the general truth, that whenever in administering government two systems are in question, both artificial or arbitrary as to any fundamental principle, prejudice of attachment to an ancient practice must give way to the convenience of modern communities.

The *eighteenth* amendment, 1855, has made it a part of the organic law of the state, that all moneys raised by taxation in the towns and cities, or appropriated by the legislature, for the support of public schools, shall be applied only to schools which are under the superintendence of the constituted municipal authorities, and shall never be appropriated to schools maintained by any religious sect. I have not observed that this provision has as yet been adopted by any other state. Its acceptance by the people of Massachusetts twenty-five years ago, has given a conclusion in advance to questions of which the agitation has since threatened to spring up out of tendencies which have rapidly made head-

way toward the establishment of parochial and denominational schools. The authorship of this article belongs to the late Chief Justice Joel Parker, who was its mover and foremost advocate, aided by the late Vice-President Wilson, in the convention of 1853; and although it was rejected by the people, in that year, as an integral part of the general body of amendments which were framed amid the excitement of party politics, it was promptly taken up by the next legislature and easily passed through all the constitutional stages.

The nineteenth article of amendment, 1855, has transferred from the chief executive of the commonwealth to the people of the counties and districts, the selection of sheriffs, probate registers, clerks of the courts, and district attorneys, annulling a principle which had been in existence since the foundation of the government. The same thing was attempted in the convention of 1820, and was summarily voted down. The sound and solid reasons against this proposition are too obvious, and have been too frequently elucidated in discussion, to warrant their present repetition. The history of its adoption is the history of the mingling of a constitutional question of enduring importance with an ephemeral question of party expediency. It had been carried through the constitutional convention of 1853 by one political party, and after its rejection by the people it was taken up by another party on its return to power and adopted as one of the conditions of appeasing its opponents, and of its own continuance in power. It was an unseaman-like instance of throwing a tub to the whale, after the whale had disappeared in far water. It was a propitiatory offering by a noble party in the weakness of its last days, sacrificing an elemental principle of the constitution, but bringing not even the expected advantage to its authors; for in the same year the party itself took its departure from American politics. I have heard judges say,—judges, the mention of whose names awakens respect and confidence

over the commonwealth,—that the practice under this new system has indicated a degeneracy from the better condition under the old system. Attempts have since been made to restore the ancient constitutional method, and may it not be hoped the people of Massachusetts will yet return to it?

The *eleventh* amendment is that of the third article of the Bill of Rights, the only instance in which those Rights have been touched by the hand of change in the entire century. The original third article is the only one in the Declaration of which John Adams was not the author, but he had the credit of it, at least to some extent, in other parts of the United States. In the recently published Warren letters, already mentioned, written in 1807, he himself gives a curious account of an interview with him, sought by the pastor of a German church in a town of Pennsylvania, while on his last journey to Washington, pending his second candidacy for the presidency; during which the minister made known that there was a general belief in that section that Mr. Adams had influence enough in making the Massachusetts constitution to establish here the Presbyterian [Congregational] religion and make all other sects of christians pay taxes for the support of it; and Mr. Adams states that this report “had an immense effect” among many religious sects, “and turned them in such numbers as decided the [fourth presidential] election.” This memorable third article was so unlike anything contained in the constitutions of most of the other states, and so strongly in contrast with the aim and scope of religious thought after the Revolution, that it awakened general attention and criticism outside of New England. The precise posture, both towards the past and future, of public opinion on this question within this commonwealth, was justly stated in a letter of Dr. Franklin, written to Richard Price in October, 1780, immediately after the ratification of this instrument:

“Though the people of Massachusetts have not in their new constitution kept quite clear of religious tests, yet, if

we consider what that people were a hundred years ago, we must allow they have gone great lengths in liberality of sentiment on religious subjects; and we may look for greater degrees of perfection, when their constitution, some years hence, shall be revised."

A similar forecast of subsequent experience was made on the other side of the ocean by Dr. Paley. My attention to the following passage from his *Political Philosophy*, published in 1785, has been drawn by the very instructive discourse upon the centenary of the constitution, delivered in January, 1880, by the Reverend Dr. Edward E. Hale:

"The only plan which seems to render the legal maintenance of a clergy practicable, without the legal preference of one sect of christians to others, is that of an experiment which is said to be attempted or designed in some of the new states of North America. In this scheme, it is not left to the option of the subject whether he will contribute, or how much he shall contribute, to the maintenance of a christian ministry: it is only referred to his choice to determine by what sect his contribution shall be received. . . . The above arrangement is undoubtedly the best that has been proposed upon this principle: it bears the appearance of liberality and justice; it may contain some solid advantages; nevertheless, it labors under inconveniences which will be found, I think, upon trial, to overbalance all its recommendations."

This article made it the right and the duty of the legislature to require of the people support of public worship and of religious teachers by compulsory taxation, and to enjoin attendance on divine worship. The address of the convention of 1780, recommending to the people the result of its labors, which has been said to have been written by Samuel Adams, states that this article was passed with more than common unanimity; but a large vote was returned against it, and pending the question of the ratification, it encountered the general opposition of the citizens of Boston, who assembled in Faneuil Hall and adopted hostile resolu-

tions with almost unanimous consent. The proposition was the natural product of the blending of the civil and ecclesiastical functions of the state under the puritan régime in the formative period. As early as 1638, a law subjecting to "assessment and distress" all who should not voluntarily support the ordinances in the churches; a similar act in 1654, when the colony had become large; in 1693, when under the new charter there were upwards of eighty churches, an act requiring every town to support a Congregational minister, and assessing therefor all inhabitants of whatever society relations; these may be singled out among the many instances of the stern policy which continued, at times somewhat relaxing, into the latter half of the last century. The reactionary sentiment relating to this subject, which sprung up about the time of the Revolution, was not sufficient to prevent the adoption of the third article, but large and increasing numbers became at once restive under its operation. The opposition to it afterwards grew more intensive by reason of great changes in the number and mutual relations of christian sects and parishes, to which judicial decisions added further elements of public dissatisfaction. The convention of 1820 contended with these difficulties through long and grave deliberations, and after exhaustive discussion proposed a modification, which proved unsatisfactory to the people and failed of ratification. The agitation of the question was resumed and continued until the year 1833, when the present amendment was adopted. Of the many legislative reports upon the subject, the last was made in the Senate by Mr. Samuel Hoar, in 1833, who stated that "as the alteration would liberate the citizens from liability to compulsory taxation for the support of public worship, in the existing state of the ecclesiastical societies in the commonwealth" it was expedient it should pass. The experience of almost fifty years under the change has been accompanied by general content with its provisions; and all that now remains of the famous third

article, upon which volumes have been written and spoken, is comprised in the three simple propositions, (1) religious equality to all denominations, (2) the right of every religious society to raise money for its expenses, and (3) the right of every person to be exempt from sharing in the expense unless he voluntarily enrolls himself as a member. The prediction of Dr. Franklin has been fulfilled, and the principle of absolute religious liberty, sometimes called the freedom of the mind, sometimes called "soul-liberty," traced by some to the philosophy of Descartes, adopted as a political policy by Roger Williams in Rhode Island before Descartes had published any philosophy, has now been a part of the constitution of Massachusetts nearly half a century.

The only amendment which remains to be mentioned is the *ninth*, which I deem most valuable of all. After 1795, and prior to 1820, there was no provision in the constitution for its revisal. The convention of that year, on the report of Mr. Webster, adopted this article, which provides that any amendment approved by a majority of the Senators and two-thirds of the Representatives voting upon it in two successive years, and then being ratified by a majority of the people voting on it, shall become a part of the constitution. And this article was ratified by the people, although it appears that they were so adverse to opening any door for alterations of the organic structure of their government, that nearly one-third of all the votes cast were given against even this well-guarded provision. It was the object of the convention in providing this method for possible changes in the constitution, to forestall any necessity for calling conventions, and to discourage a practice, since not uncommon in some of the states, of educating the people in the exercise of constitution-making. The admirable success of this provision is shown by the fact that of the whole number of amendments made in the last sixty years, all but the nine which were initiated by the convention of 1820,

that is to say, eighteen of the twenty-seven, have come to us in the manner thus provided. The greater safety of this method over that of conventions made easy and frequent, is obvious to reason, and it received the signal approval of the people themselves in 1853, when they rejected the whole catalogue of amendments offered to them by the convention of that year, including six which only two years later they ratified when coming to them through the stages pointed out by the convention of 1820. It may now be regarded the settled conviction of the people of Massachusetts that they prefer to obtain amendments of their government in the more slow, more calm, more conservative manner herein indicated. The convention of 1853 offered to the citizens of the state a policy of such frequent conventions for constitutional revisal that now, after subsidence of the excitement of that day, it may fairly be pronounced unprecedented and grotesque. The folly of its proposed treatment of a supposed chronic distemper in the body politic, only from the dispensary of frequent and periodical constitutional conventions, was graphically exposed by Dr. J. G. Palfrey, in his clear and analytical address to the people. "Florence, [said Dr. Palfrey], before her frolics of this kind were brought to an end by the Grand Ducal despotism, had at one time, if I remember aright, five constitutions in ten years. It was not the way to a quiet life."

An analysis of the several amendments accepted in the last sixty years, discloses that we live under the same substantive form of government which was established one hundred years ago. But five of all the amendments have introduced any new subject matter in the constitution; all the rest of them have been modifications; some of them repealing others; many of them susceptible of being grouped under a single head as affecting the machinery of the election of the executive and legislative officers; a portion of them merely formal; and only a small part of the whole number touching any elementary principle of the govern-

ment. Since the establishment of this constitution, the population of the commonwealth has more than quintupled, and there has been more than a corresponding advance in its aggregated wealth, and in the diffusion of competence and comfort among its subjects. With rare exceptions, the generations have carried out in good faith the intent of the framers. Under the high and inspiring tone which they transfused into the constitution there has been, there is now, constant advancement on every field of "literature and the sciences, of humanity and general benevolence, of public and private charity," of legislation, of judicial interpretation, and impartial administration of the laws. The later change of the homogeneousness of our population by the admixture of races, imposes upon men of education and authority, a constantly increasing duty to impress upon the people the value of this constitution, and the importance of protecting it from every unnecessary alteration. And upon no body of men does this duty rest with higher responsibility than upon the Historical Societies of Massachusetts, in the archives of which the names and the fame of its authors are treasured and guarded.

There is no technical science of government, and there can be none. The history of free nations has illustrated the truth that governments are growths, springing from necessities and conveniences suggested by experience; and they approximate to the highest dictates of reason, according to the growth of communities in intelligence and virtue. The principles essential for the groundwork of government for a free and virtuous commonwealth are few and elementary, and the world has never beheld them so well applied, or so happily illustrated, as in the governments of the states of this union. Of all these states, I may be pardoned for selecting Massachusetts as a type for the sound principles embodied in the foundations, and for a steadfast adherence to them through a hundred years. And yet, how simple

the essential parts of all this frame-work are, has been well stated by John Adams, the framer-in-chief :

“Representations, instead of collections, of the people ; a total separation of the executive from the legislative power, and of the judicial from both : and a balance in the legislature, by three independent, equal branches ; are perhaps the three only discoveries in the constitution of a free government, since the institution of Lycurgus. Even these have been so unfortunate that they have never spread : the first has been given up by all the nations, excepting one, who had once adopted it : and the other two, reduced to practice, if not invented, by the English nation, have never been imitated by any other except their own descendants in America.”

CORONADO'S DISCOVERY OF THE SEVEN CITIES.

BY REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.

It is with great pleasure that I read a part of a letter from Lieut. John G. Bourke, of the United States Army, on the location of the "seven cities" of Cibola, discovered by Coronado, in 1540. From the time of the Cabots, adventurers had been lured on by the hope of finding the "seven cities" founded by the seven bishops who, according to the legend, had sailed west from Portugal.¹ Coronado, at last, in following out the clue given by the lying friar, Marcos de Niza, came out at the seven cities of Cibola, and with the discovery of these seven villages, the quest for the "seven cities" for the time subsided. But we are obliged to renew it, that we may determine what were the "seven cities" of Coronado.

Forty years after him, Espejo, in pushing his independent line of discovery by the valley of the Rio Grande, supposed he had found Coronado's seven cities. Following his indications, I ventured the suggestion, in the second volume of the "Popular History of America," that these towns were the pueblos of the Zuñi, fixed by our geographers in about longitude 109° W., latitude 35° N. Lieut. Bourke, one of those intelligent officers of the army who are doing so much to enlarge our knowledge, both of the history and geography of these interesting regions, has himself followed a large part of Coronado's route, or what it appears to be. His interesting letter seems to shew that we are to find Coronado's seven cities, not with the Zuñi, but in the seven

¹ See note XXIV., Irving's Columbus, Vol. III.

the Moquis in North-eastern Arizona. It is quite probable that Espejo's towns were the Zuñi villages, and not those of the Moqui. It is to be observed that there is more than one instance recorded where the people of these very interesting tribes inhabited groups of seven towns.

Hakluyt and Ramusio had preserved for us one of the original reports of Marcos de Niza, whose exaggerations and lies started the Spaniards on this enterprise. They also give us some of Coronado's manly reports of his Quixotic expedition. As lately as 1838, Ternaux-Compans discovered and published two additional narratives of the expedition;—one by Pedro de Castañeda de Nagera, and one by Juan Jaramillo, a captain under Coronado. The first of these is long and careful, and gives to us the detail of Coronado's whole route. Jaramillo's account is shorter, but supplies some interesting local color.

In all the accounts we are fortunately able to place one point of departure. This is the Casa Grande, near the Gila river, still perfectly identified. It is described and figured by our associate, Dr. Bartlett, at the 275th page of the second volume of his narrative. As he is present with us to-day, I cannot but hope that he will favor us with his view of the questions suggested by Lieutenant Bourke. The Casa Grande will be found marked even on the railway maps of to-day, for "Casa Grande" is now one of the stations on the Southern Pacific route, just now opened in connection with the Atchison and Topeka railroad. From this point, according to Lieutenant Bourke, the march of Coronado was nearly northerly. It is thus described by Castañeda:

"When the general had crossed all the inhabited country nearly to Chichilticale [Casa Grande], we came to the desert, and as we had seen nothing good, we could not prevent a feeling of sadness, although we were promised wonders farther on. No one had seen them except the Indians,

who had accompanied the negro, and they had already told many lies. We were much disappointed to see that Chichiltleule, of which we had heard so much, came down, on inspection, to be one house in ruins, without a roof; but which, however appeared to have been fortified. We could easily see that this house, made of red earth, was the work of people civilized and who came from a distance."

They departed from this place and entered the desert. In about fifteen days they arrived within eight leagues of Cibola, on the borders of a river which they named Rio Vermelho, because of the color of the water.

Coronado and his party, which consisted of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred native Mexicans, remained at Cibola. Making it their base of operations, but relying on reinforcements which they received from the south, Coronado in the next year marched east and south-east in search of the great kingdom of Quivira, where he had been told that the king worshipped a cross of gold, and that, throughout the land, the commonest utensils were of silver, while bowls, plates, and similar utensils were of gold. Several stages of this march are indicated by Castañeda, but there is often some omission in his topographical statements which makes a difficulty in tracing the route precisely.

Tusayan was twenty-five leagues from Cibola. It consisted, like Cibola, of seven towns, the houses of several stories. The people of Tusayan told of a great river, by descending which many days, the Spaniards would come to very tall people. To discover this river Garci-Lopez de Cardenas was sent. He crossed a desert of twenty days and came to the river "of which the banks were so high that they seemed to be three or four leagues in the air." This river was undoubtedly the Colorado, and they came on its great cañon. They called it the Tizon.

While this expedition went forward, Coronado heard of a village called Cicuyé, situated seventy leagues to the east.

Seventy leagues—as the bird flies—would bring them to the upper waters of the Rio del Norte, if Lieutenant Bourke has correctly fixed the cities of Cibola. Hernando d'Alvarado was sent to Cicuyé, with some of its own people for guides. In five days they came to Acuco, situated on a rock, and inhabited by “brigands” who could put two hundred warriors in the field. The ascent was by a stairway which for the first two hundred steps was “wide enough,” but afterward consisted of a hundred much more narrow, while at the very top of the last three “toises,” it was necessary to mount by holes in the rock. This description corresponds almost precisely with that of Acoma,¹ which, in 1860, Judge Cozzens thus described :

“It stands upon the top of a rock at least three hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding plain. The Pueblo can only be reached by means of a staircase containing three hundred and seventy-five steps, cut in the solid rock. At the upper end of this is a ladder eighteen feet long, made from the trunk of a tree, in which notches have been cut for the feet.”

In three days from Acuco, Alvarado came to Tiguex, and he sent back thence a proposal to Coronado to unite there. Five days from Tiguex he came to Cicuyé, which he found to be a well fortified village, with houses four stories high. Here they found an Indian slave who gave them, as they supposed, accounts of Florida. Alvarado returned to Tiguex and wintered there, and heard there of a great number of villages toward the north.

Coronado took Alvarado's advice and marched to Tiguex, but with a part of his force visited Tutahaco, a similar town, where the people told him that by descending the river he would find more villages. He however “ascended the river” and so came to Tiguex. This is the first intimation of any

¹ Acoma, on Simpson's map is about the longitude of 107° W. just south of the parallel of 35°.

river, but the river was either the Del Puerco, the San Jose, or possibly even the Del Norte or Rio Grande.

A quarrel with the natives compelled Coronado to "besiege" and capture Tiguex, after a siege of fifty days. He then sent a captain to Chia, a large and populous town "four leagues west of the river." Six other Spaniards went to Quirix, also a province of seven villages. And, in the spring, as soon as the river was no longer frozen, the expedition marched on the long deferred expedition in search of Quivira. It marched on the 5th of May and took the road to Cicuyé, twenty-five leagues. There they obtained another guide to Quivira. They entered the mountains, and on the fourth day came out on a broad river, which also passes Cicuyé, which they therefore called the river of Cicuyé. They bridged this river and marched ten days, when they met Indians living like Arabs, who were called "Querechos." They were now in a genuine prairie country, and their narrative reads much like the narratives of our own officers in the same regions forty years ago.

In a very careful and instructive paper read before the Nebraska Historical Society,¹ by Judge James W. Savage, he carefully follows the route as given by the different narrators. The march was in all two hundred and fifty leagues. The army then encamped for some days in a valley where a little brook watered a plain covered with trees, among which were vines, mulberries, and *rosales*. There were also pears like those of France, and plums like those of Castile. Judge Savage supposes this to have been in the valley of the Arkansas. Leaving the body of the army here, Coronado himself, with a smaller party, pushed northward, and as Judge Savage believes, crossed the plains of Kansas and came out upon the Platte River. The guide who had led them thus far, told them that they were now at Quivira, for want of a better kingdom of gold and silver. The chief, alas, knew no metal but copper, of which he had

¹ April 16, 1886.

but little. Coronado hanged his guide and returned. Judge Savage does not agree with General Simpson in his opinion of the point reached by Coronado. General Simpson¹ had placed it much farther east.

"All the authors who have written on this subject (he says) seem to have discredited Coronado's report that he explored northwardly as far as the 40° of north latitude; but not only do the reports of Castañeda and Jaramillo bear him out in his statement, but the peculiar description of the country as given by them all—namely, that it was *exceedingly rich*; its soil *black*; that it bore, spontaneously, grapes and prunes (wild plums); was watered by many streams of pure water, &c.; and the circumstance of this kind of country not being found anywhere in the probable direction of Coronado's route, except across the Arkansas and on the head waters of the Arkansas River; all this, together with the allusion to a large river, the 'Saint Peter and Saint Paul' (probably the Arkansas), which they crossed before reaching Quivira, in latitude 40° north; and to a still larger river further on (probably the Missouri)—makes it exceedingly probable that he reached the fortieth degree of latitude, or what is now the boundary between the States of Kansas and Nebraska, well on towards the Missouri River."

Mr. Hale placed upon the table for the inspection of members, several pieces of pottery, and some knit or woven blankets, showing the handiwork of the Indian races who still inhabit these "Pueblos." He also exhibited some beautiful photographs of their villages, taken recently. These articles were all kindly contributed, for the interest of the meeting, by Mr. Cargill, of the Atchison and Topeka Railroad Company.

¹ Smithsonian Report, 1869.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUT. JOHN G. BOURKE, AIDE-DE-CAMP OF GENERAL CROOK.

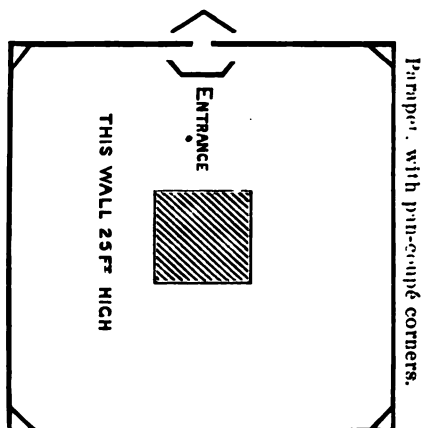
“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE PLATTE :
FORT OMAHA, NEBRASKA, Feb’y 25, 1881.

* * * * In my opinion, the seven (7) cities of Cibola alluded to in the narrative of Fray Marco de Niza and of Coronado are the Moqui Villages, in north-eastern Arizona. In this view I may not be supported by the weight of authority, but that to me, under present circumstances, is no great matter. I have been over much of the trail which Coronado’s expedition must have followed, and knowing the topography of the Arizona part of it at least, pretty well, I have no hesitancy in expressing myself as above. So far as I understand the record, Coronado started from the state of Jalisco, and after journeying in a generally north course, found himself at the Casa Grande in Pimeria (or what is now a part of Arizona), on the Gila River. This old ruin, still of considerable size, is situated in the country of the Pima Indians, and a little east of south of the mouth of the Verde river, on Salt river, on which latter stream they had, till within very late years, large ‘Milpas’ or cornfields. The distance to the Verde river is not quite 40 miles, over a level desert, offering no obstacle to the progress of a military command, except the want of water. The Verde river, for a considerable part of its length, runs nearly due north and south, and a skilful soldier, such as I am satisfied Coronado was, would at once determine upon following its course, and thus avoid the Massissal and other rugged ranges (impassable almost at this day), which lie immediately to the east. Running out from this valley, is a trail much used by the Moquis, leading to their principal town, Oraybe. They use it to this day to get to the white settlements—Prescott and others—and no doubt travelled in the same general line 300 years ago to trade with the Pimas.

Thus far I have adduced no argument of special value in support of my assertion, but I have now to say that on March 21st, 1873, while serving with General Crook’s expedition against the hostile Apaches of Arizona, Lieutenant Almy and myself came upon a ruined building, concerning

which the following remarks are to be found in my journal of that date :

'FRIDAY, March 21st, (1873). * * * * To-day, just after crossing the Verde, we came to the ruins of an old fortification of greater magnitude than any we have yet encountered. Being in a completely ruined condition, we could only conjecture its previous configuration, size and purpose; but they seemed to indicate that in the centre had been a vast, rectangular, two or three-storied pile, with well defined entrances and loop-holed walls, while the exterior line of work represented a parapet behind which the animals could find temporary shelter. The entire work was of limestone, laid in adobe cement, the "vegas" (Spanish for "rafters") being of cottonwood, but so much decayed that we could only find little pieces of them in the walls. 500 to 1000 men could be accommodated within the lines; which, however, seemed from the number of partition walls to have been intended for storehouses. One of the corners is still more than twenty feet high, perhaps twenty-five. Almy suggested that perhaps the structure had been erected by Coronado, as a base of supplies, and the idea is certainly a good one.'



This sketch is a rough copy from the rough work in my journal; the scale, unfortunately, was not given at the time of making the drawing, but I think now that it was $\frac{1}{3840}$, or one inch to the hundred yards. Lieutenant Almy has long since been killed by the Apache Indians, but I may say here that he was a young officer of unusual intelligence, gallantry and promise; a

native I believe of your state, and a graduate of the Military Academy, where I first made his acquaintance. We had a number of conversations together regarding this old structure, of which I have never seen or heard a word from any other source. We came to the conclusion that, from its great age and position, that it had been erected by Coronado. I don't want to be prolix, but I may say that the mode in which the entrance was defended, the loop-holed walls, and the corner of the outer rampart cut away in such a manner (see figure) that a small field-piece could be used *en barbette*; these facts and the truthness

of the angles of the main building proclaimed Spanish origin.

The greater part of the prehistoric remains of Arizona will be found to be "slouchy" at the corners, either the angles are not an exact 90° , or the workmanship is defective at these points. Again, the natives built on promontories or cliffs, while this building was in a grassy bottom, and the idea of affording protection to animals while grazing seemed to be paramount.

I have been talking with General Crook this morning, on the same subject, and find that he agrees substantially with me in this statement about the site chosen for building purposes; and, in fact, he could call to mind during the whole period of his stay in Arizona but one, or at most two, instances of deviation from this rule, and even in these cases the deviation was more apparent than real, as the location gave a satisfactory command of the country within bow-shot, which was the main point to be considered.

From the head of Beaver Creek the Moqui trail leads around the eastern base of the San Francisco mountains straight to the seven villages, which correspond, in all things to the descriptions given by the Spaniards. Tegua, Hualpi, and Moqui occupy one elevated plateau; Osaybe another, Mushaugnevy a third, and Sumo-porvy and Suponolevy a fourth; the different plateaus being from eight to ten miles apart. What other nation of Pueblo Indians has now, or has had at any time, seven villages situated within such distances of each other and formed of houses of stone and adobe, four stories high, and entered by ladders? The Zuñis have but one pueblo, used permanently as a place of residence, but in all other points their village fulfils all conditions that can be exacted. You will admit, my dear sir, that Coronado would not be likely to report having seen seven towns unless he had seen them.

I find I have gone at some length into this matter; perhaps I have wearied your patience, but I have as yet had no opportunity to express myself to people who would take an interest in the subject. General Simpson, of the Engineer Corps of the Army, wrote a monograph in the Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1869. I have not it at hand just now, and may be mistaken as to some of its salient features, because I have not seen it since 1875, when I came across a copy of it in a Mormon village while I was

travelling in south-west Utah: but my impression is that Simpson thinks that Coronado came out at the Zuñi villages. While I have great respect for Simpson's knowledge of the subject, I must differ with him in this conclusion, and say, in all modesty, that I have seen enough of the country between the Gila and the northern boundary of Arizona to entitle my opinions to some consideration.

I will say no more upon this point at this time, but should you feel any interest in the story of Coronado's march, I think I can send you a copy of the interesting lecture delivered in Omaha, by my friend Judge James W. Savage (Harvard, 1849), who has carefully investigated all written authorities to be found in this country."

MAYAPAN AND MAYA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY AUGUSTUS LE PLONGEON, M.D.

NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

The following paper from Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon, communicated to the Society through Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., is published under his supervision. In the existing unsettled state of archaeological science in this country, the observations and opinions of explorers are of great value, and should be deliberately considered. The advantage to the archaeologist, of possessing the original statements of the views of investigators of different periods, formulated by themselves, may be seen on comparing the theories of Haywood, Rafinesque, Priest, Brasseur de Bourbourg and others with more abstract speculations. See "Archæology of the United States, or Sketches, Historical and Bibliographical, of the progress of information and opinion respecting vestiges of antiquity in the United States," by S. F. Haven, LL.D., Smithsonian Contributions, vol. VIII., 1855. *Passim*.

Dr. and Mrs. Le Plongeon have the rare advantage of an almost continuous residence among Maya ruins for more than seven years, and of constant relations with a class of Indians, most likely to preserve traditions regarding the past history of the mysterious structures which abound in Yucatan.

MÉRIDA, YUCATAN, *January 16th, 1881.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Gentlemen:—Since Mrs. Le Plongeon's and my return to Yucatan in June, 1880, to continue our studies of the ruined monuments existing in that country, under the auspices of the American Antiquarian Society, and with the pecuniary assistance of Mr. Pierre Lorillard of New York, Señor Don Vicente Solís de León, one of the present owners of the hacienda of *X-canchacan*, within the boundaries of which are situated the ruins of the ancient city of Mayapan, has repeatedly invited us to pay a scientific visit to the remains of the famous abodes of the powerful King *Cocom*, and of his descendants until the year 1446 of the Christian Era, when, according to Landa, the lords and nobles of the country, with the chief of the *Tutuxius* at their head, put to death *Cocom*

and all his sons—except one who was absent—sacked his palace and destroyed his city and stronghold.¹

Don Vicente Solis de Leon is a civil engineer in the employ of the Mexican Federal Government. His brother Don Perfecto is a lawyer of no mean repute in Mérida, and Don Fernando, who was our *cicerone* in Mayapan, is the manager of the hacienda of *X-canchacan*. These gentlemen can vouch for the correctness of our plans, photographs and moulds.

Messrs. Solis were already in possession of *X-canchacan* when Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg visited Mayapan. They accompanied him, and listening to his learned descriptions and remarks, gradually became interested in the history of a city, once the residence of powerful lords and learned priests; but to-day alas! an unshapely mass of *débris*, lost in well-nigh impenetrable thickets. So willingly did they lend their assistance to Brasseur, that under his guidance, and following Landa's relation "that on the square of that city were seven or eight stones of nearly 10 feet in length each, with one extremity rounded, well hewn, and with several lines of the *characters* which they use, but which were so defaced by the action of water that they cannot be read. It is believed that they refer to the memory of the foundation and destruction of this capital" . . . ², they soon discovered two of these stones about seventy metres from the foot of the stairway on the east side of the principal mound. I send you, for your better study, a photograph of one of these stones which is now encrusted, by order of Messrs. Solis, in the South wall of the veranda of the principal house of the hacienda of *X-canchacan*. It was inserted in the place where it now is, in order to save it from the fate of its companion, which was destroyed by an ignorant Majordomo, who broke it and used the pieces to form the jamb of the door of a cattle-yard, where I saw them a few days ago. I also sent to Mr. Pierre Lorillard a plaster cast of the remaining stone taken from a paper mould, made by myself and now in my possession.

¹ Landa—*Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. VIII. "Que entre los sucesores de la casa Cocomina, avo uno muy orgulloso y imitador de Cocom, y que este hizo otra liga con los de Tavasco, y que metió mas mexicanos dentro de la cibdad y que comenco a tyranizar, y hazer esclavos a la gente menuda, y que por esto se juntaron los señores a la parte de *Tutuziu*, el qual era gran republicano como sus passados y que concertaron de matar a Cocom, y que assi lo hizieron matando tambien a todos sus hijos, sin dexar mas de uno que estava ausente, y que le sequearon la casa . . . que despues de aver estado en aquella cibdad mas de D años la desampararon y despoblaron.

² Landa—*Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. IX. "Que se hallan en la plaça de aquella cibdad VII. or VIII. piedras de a diez pies en largo cada una, redondas par la una parte, bien labradas y que tienen algunos renglones de los *caracteres* que ellos usan, y que por estar gastadas de la agua no se pueden leer, mas pensar que es memoria de la fundacion y destruccion de aquella cibdad.

Other stones gathered from among the ruins are also in the wall of the veranda, by the side of the one disinterred by Abbé Brasseur—some are shown by Mr. Stephens in his work on Yucatan¹; but there are two copies of a certain inscription—represented in the adjoining photograph—which are, in my opinion, of very great historical and scientific value. I will try to explain it to you. To my mind, said inscription confirms the fact that the key to the reading of the ancient monumental inscriptions, discovered by Mrs. Le Plongeon and myself, is, in truth, the right one.

Mr. Lorillard has also in his possession an exact *fac simile* of this interesting inscription—made in plaster from one of my paper moulds.

It was these interesting relics of the last Capital of the Mayas that Messrs. Solis invited us to examine—and to these or their *fac simile*—we humbly beg to call your earnest attention. We may err in our conclusions; but—*Errare humanum est*—pray then, in your judgment of us, be merciful. We are the toilers—you the judges, who, quietly sitting in your curial chairs, have to pronounce sentence upon us. Let the sentence be a just one.

My object is not to rehearse the history of this city—who can now do it? Cogolludo², Lizana³, Landa⁴, Torquemada⁵ and others, have preserved in their writings the traditions (true or false) yet extant in the memory of the people at the time they wrote. To-day I can only tell you of the ruins of the temples as we see them, destroyed by the hand of time and man. I will speak to you of the characters sculptured by the dwellers of the temples, on the stones of their walls, and of the mode of construction of these temples and other monuments, public and private. These sculptures and this mode of construction will tell us of the scientific and artistic attainments of a people, which has almost disappeared from the theatre of mundane existence. They will also tell us of the intimate relations, not to say parentage, which may have existed between them and other ancient nations which have also ceased to exist, but whose history is becoming better known every day. The characters used by the scribes and learned men of the Mayas to record the events which had taken place in the life of their people, and the history of their nation, will tend to strengthen the presumption of these relations, and bring us to historical ground, already explored by such illustrious men as Young, Champollion, Wilkinson, Layard, Botta, Rawlinson, Smith and others.

During our former stay in Yucatan we did not visit Mayapan, although we could have done so at much less cost, privation and personal

¹ Stephens. *Travels in Yucatan*. Vol. 1. Page 134.

²Cogolludo (*Historia de Yucatan*). ³Lizana *Historia de N. S. de Izamal*. ⁴Landa—*Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*. ⁵Torquemada—*Monarquia Indiana*.

danger¹ than the other ruined cities, among the monuments of which we spent nearly four years. Our attention was engrossed in following the traces of, what we then thought, a more ancient civilization,² plainly visible on the better preserved monuments of *Chichen-Itza*, *Aké* and *Uxmal*. We thought Mayapan of a much more recent date than these cities, and were unwilling, as the common saying is, to chase two hares at one time, lest we should catch none. So we postponed our visit to Mayapan; and we have now no reason to regret it, since our former studies caused us to better understand the meaning of the sculptures and characters to-day before us.

Now that Professor Valentini, by his essay on the Landa Alphabet, has called your attention particularly to it, impugning its genuineness, presenting it to the World as a sheer invention of the Bishop; and since, also, Professor Charles Rau, of the Archæological department of the Smithsonian Institute, has published an elaborate essay on a kindred subject:³ in order to disprove Professor Valentini's assertion, and to show to the world that Landa's characters, or at least some of them, are to be found, in the inscriptions of PALENQUE, and were used by the wise and learned men of the nations of Central America, as well as by those of Yucatan, we imagined that if we could help to set right the debated question, we should render a service to the students of American archæology: and we resolved therefore to accept the invitation of the Messrs. *Solis*, beginning our new studies of the ruins of Yucatan by taking photographs and a mould of one of the stones, which Landa says was inscribed with the very characters now criticised by the two distinguished professors.

My duty, to the scientific world, is to keep entirely neutral towards all contending parties. I possess a great advantage. I study the monuments *in situ*. I hear from the mouth of the natives—in their mother tongue, the MAYA—whatever they have learned from their ancestors of these monuments. My knowledge of them must, of necessity, be

¹The hacienda of X-canchakan is only thirty miles distant from Mérida. Notwithstanding its proximity to the Capital of the State it has been visited by the Indians of *Chan-Santa-Cruz*, who have left, as souvenirs, several traces of their presence and vandalistic propensities. They hacked the door of the chapel, around the lock, with the hope of penetrating into the interior and carrying away the altar ornaments. They felled the lofty cocoanut trees, that Mr. Catherwood represented in his drawing, in the rear of the belfry of the *casa principal*, as published page 142 of Stephens's work on Yucatan: and *Marcelo Canich*, the mayoral of San Joaquin, who well remembered Stephens and his companions, and also the accident of a mischievous pistol shooting off two fingers from the hand of a *vagüero*, because, it is now admitted, said *vagüero* was so inquisitive as to form with it an intimate acquaintance without previous formal introduction. *Marcelo*, I was going to say, keeps an everlasting remembrance of the Indians of *Santa Cruz* in the shape of a bullet wound in his right knee.

²We were then misled by the confused relation of Bishop Landa.

³See Tomo III., *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*.

greater than that of gentlemen, who write from behind their desks, ignorant of the TRUE FACTS . . . of the very language represented by the characters, the theme of their learned discussions. It is these TRUE FACTS that I will here present to your consideration in the shape of photographs and casts, without more comment than a comparison with *similar facts* contained in the works of the illustrious writers I have mentioned: to these we must now restrict ourselves: for, to tell the truth, it would be impossible for me to agree with either, and a controversy on a subject so little understood, seems to me in the present state of our science, simply time and labor lost. What do the contending parties know about *Maya*, and particularly ancient *Maya* mural inscriptions? Except the Landa alphabet as published by Brasseur, and two or three codices of unknown origin, said to be *Maya*, where have they seen true, genuine *Maya* inscriptions? I hope that with Mr. W. Bollaert¹ and others, who pretend to have discovered a key to writings they have never seen, that they have one of the *Maya* mural inscriptions on the slab of the *Akab-Dib* as figured in the work of Stephens;—because I can now inform them that the engraving is not a faithful representation, but a most imperfect sketch of the slab, and by trying to interpret mere lines (many of them imaginary), they will do what Mr. Bollaert has done, write . . . nonsense.

The only true representation of the *Akab-Dib* slab in the world is the photographic impression made by myself in 1875. Examine the copy which is in the collection of photographs placed by Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., in the rooms of your Society—compare it with the engraving given in the work of Stephens, and you will soon satisfy yourselves of the truth of my assertion.

The Smithsonian Institution possesses a slab, which once formed part of the altar of the cross in the ruins of *Nāchan*,² to-day Palenque; and until lately—when I sent to Mr. Pierre Lorillard casts of two inscriptions (taken from the originals in the National Museum of Mexico, by special permission of the Mexican government) brought from these celebrated ruins by Captain Dupaix, at the beginning of the present century—the Smithsonian slab was the only genuine sample of Palenque inscriptions existing in the United States, perhaps in the world. This slab, the theme of Prof. Rau's essay mentioned by me, came near being the cause of a misunderstanding between the learned Professor and myself in May last.

The Professor asserted that the characters of the *MAYAS* and those of the people of *Palenque* were identical. I contended that they were not

¹ W. Bollaert. Examination of Central American Hieroglyphs. Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London. Vol. III. pp. 288, 314.

² *Nāchan* does not mean as Mr. Bancroft and after him Mr. Short assert, the *city of serpents*, at least in the *Maya* language. The *city of serpents* would then be *cancak*—*can* being serpent, and *cak* a village, a city. *Nāchan* signifies the *small house*, from *Nā*, house, and *chan*, small, little.

at all alike, (Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1878), that I could in some degree understand the Maya inscriptions, but not a word of those of *Palenque*, *Copan* or *Quirigua*. To convince him, I begged the learned Professor to compare my photographic impression of the *Akab-Dib* with the Palenque slab. His assistant in the archæological department and myself, with the Professor leading, formed, if not a grand, at least a very serious procession to a part of the altar of the cross. If those who in centuries past had engraved their thoughts on that stone, could have at that moment, through a chink from the world above, taken a peep at us, I am sure they would have had a good laugh at our expense. Professor Rau carefully examined my photograph, compared its characters with those of the slab, and candidly acknowledged that he was mistaken, in believing the writings of the Mayas and those of the learned men of Palenque to be identical. True there are signs and characters that seem to be alike in both inscriptions, but this similarity is easily explained. Some of the mural inscriptions of Yucatan go back to so high an antiquity, as I can easily prove, that we will have to count their age by *thousands of years*. Palenque, if the traditions are to be relied upon, would only date, according to Brasseur,¹ one thousand years before Christ, on the authority of Francisco Paula Garcia de Pelaez.² But since its foundation, people from its neighborhood abandoned their country and homes, travelled Eastward toward the coast, leaving traces of their passage, invaded the Yucatecan Peninsula, and settling among its inhabitants, at the same time that they accepted new customs, also engrafted some of their own, with their arts and sciences on those of the Mayas. Hence the introduction of Palenque characters in the Maya alphabet, and *vice versa*. Further, as we see ourselves, the character and form of the language is so changed, owing to more frequent communication, that few to-day can read and understand the relations and MSS. of the chroniclers of even the time of the Spanish conquest of America, scarcely more than three centuries. How then can we wonder if the alphabets and languages of nations, whose existence may be reckoned not by centuries but millenaries, have suffered the same changes that we have seen taking place among us! *Tempora mutantur et in illis mores*. And if, as in a former communication, I here repeat that the Landa alphabet is well-nigh useless in deciphering the most ancient monumental inscriptions, I am nevertheless far from agreeing with Prof. Valentini, that the characters preserved by the fanatical Bishop, as by a miracle (he being most enthusiastic in the destruction of all the books and things belonging to the Mayas that fell into his hands), were not used *even* as late as his time. For I ask how can a reasonable and honest man deny that the probabilities are in favor of Landa? Unless we take

¹ *Chimalpopoca* M. S. Brasseur de Bourbourg. *Popol Vuh*, p. lxxxviii.

² *Francisco Paula Garcia de Pelaez. Memorias para la historia del antiguo reino de Guatemala.*

him for a fool or an impostor, how are we to dispose of his assertion, when he says, speaking of the stones he saw at Mayapan: *They were inscribed with characters used by them* (y que tienen renglones de los caracteres que ellos usan). He does not say *usaban*, in the past, but *usan* in the present.¹ If the people, in his time, had not used these characters, many of those who were opposed to the Franciscan friars² and accused the Bishop of assuming the rights of an inquisitor,—of ordering an auto-da-fé in which he himself boasts of having burned 5,000 idols of distinct forms and sizes, 13 large stones that served for altars, 22 smaller ones, 27 SCROLLS of hieroglyphs and signs on deer-skin, 197 vases of different shapes and sizes, together with bones of people which he caused to be disinterred,³ stating that he had burned no one alive,—would certainly have accused him of lying and deception, among the other things brought against him by the Council of Indies.⁴ Such an accusation does not, however, appear against him; we must then believe that no one had anything to say against the Bishop on that score, and admit that the characters preserved by him were in truth the same used by the writers of the books he ordered to be destroyed.

Now, for the facts. One of the very stones mentioned by Landa, that discovered by Abbé Brasseur, is now before you (Fig. 1), in the form of a photograph, made as perfect as the defacement of its sculptures, and the bad illumination, owing to the position it now occupies, permit. You can see, however, a perfect cast of it at Mr. Pierre Lorillard's.⁵ I consider it of very great importance, not only for the characters engraved upon it, but also because of the historical personage whose portrait it contains . . . and for the opportunity it offers me to show you my mode of studying these ancient monuments (I am not egotistical), and of proving also to the students of American archaeology that my words, . . . "*I assert that they are not given by us at random. They are written on the monuments where represented in characters just as intelligible to my wife and myself, as this paper is to you in latin letters. Every person represented on these monuments is known to us by name;*

¹ LANDA. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. IX.

² LANDA—*idem*. Chap. XVII—"y que esto causó que aboresciesen mucho mas a los frayles, haziendoles libellos infamatorios, y cessando de oír sus missas.

³ COGOLLUDO. *Historia de Yucatan*. Appendix VII—page 604.

⁴ LANDA. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. XIX. . . . "Y que sobre esto se agravió el provincial y determinó ir a España queixandose primero en Mexico—y que assi vino a Madrid, donde los del consejo de Indias le afearon mucho que uviesse usurpado el oficio de Obispo y inquisidor," &c., &c.

See also COGOLLUDO. *Historia de Yucatan*.

⁵ The various casts and moulds sent to Mr. Lorillard have been kindly placed by him on deposit in the hall of this society, and can there be inspected; together with the many photographs and plates previously sent by Dr. Le Plongeon to Mr. Salisbury.—[Pub. Com].

since either over the head or at the feet the name is written,¹ as published in the proceedings of your Society, are not a vain boast when speaking of the names given by us to Chaacmol and his brothers.

That this is one of the stones referred to by Landa, there can be no doubt. Its shape—"rounded at one end—the characters engraved upon it so defaced by the action of water as to be illegible," the position where found, are, to my mind, sufficient data to cause us to identify it. Further, it was disinterred by Brasseur, following Landa's relation, about seventy metres from the foot of the stairway, and in front of it² on the east side of the principal mound of Mayapan (called *Kukulcan*³) where the square of the city seems to have been, and about midway between the mound and that other edifice represented in the engraving on page 136 of the first volume of Stephens's *Travels in Yucatan*, mentioned also by Landa.⁴ "They also made another, perfectly round, with four doors, entirely different from any of the others in Yucatan."

True, the measurement of the stone as made by us, which is 1^m 62^c for its height and 0^m 60^c for the width, does not quite correspond with its size as given by the Bishop. This, however, is of minor importance; for it is more than probable that all the stones seen by him were not exactly of the same dimensions; and also that the Rev^d Father did not measure them as carefully as we have done.

Fig. 1.



*Slab at Mayapan, probably
referred to by Landa,
representing King Cocom.*

¹ Stephen Salisbury, Jr. *Dr. Le Plongeon in Yucatan. Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society.* April 26, 1876, and April 25, 1877.

² Marcelo Kanich, mayoral of San Joaquin, who was our guide when we visited the ruins of Mayapan at the beginning of the present month, showed us the place where he saw the stone when being disinterred by the Abbé Brasseur.

³ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan.* Chap. VI.

⁴ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*, Chap. VI. "Y que hizieron otro redondo con cuatro puertas, diferente de quantos hay en aquella tierra." This monument, now a shapeless mass of stones, was destroyed by lightning in 1867.

Now, pray take notice that the stone under consideration is divided in two parts. The upper, that which contains thirty squares or compartments (Fig. 1), together with two lines of arrow heads > separated by a line of signs similar to the Egyptian hieroglyph for the Sun (Fig. 2), together with the fringe-like open border is a little more than one third of the whole length. On examining attentively the few lines that remain of the characters once engraved on each of the compartments, we thought for an instant, that at last we had stumbled upon such a monument as we are in hopes of finding some day, an inscription written in two or three languages, one of them known perhaps. You may see, by the very few vestiges which are still perceptible, that the characters traced in the squares were simply straight lines intersecting each other, some running parallel, but certainly different from those of the inscription yet existing over the head of the standing figure, and suggestive of the hieratic characters of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Alas! had our hopes been gratified, of what earthly use would it have been to us in the present instance, these carvings being so obliterated by the hand of time and the action of the water, as Landa remarks. If these precious writings have disappeared, we have, happily, the deeper carvings yet remaining, and those over and between the figures are still sufficiently preserved for us to know, what kind of signs the learned men of Mayapan made use of to give their thoughts material form, and also to tell us who was the personage seated on a high seat or throne, and sporting a colossal head-dress. He is an old acquaintance of ours. We met him for the first time, five years ago at Chichen-Itza,—where we saw him on several occasions — and truly after four years we were glad to see him again, and indeed in his own domains, in Mayapan, receiving the oath of allegiance of a subject chief, (whose name is too defaced for us to make out) and presenting him with the corresponding badge of his authority.

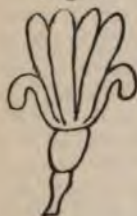
Allow me, to inform you confidentially—but pray do not repeat it, lest it should reach the ears of His Majesty, who might take offence on account of his striking resemblance in general, but that of his nose in particular, with that of Judy's world-renowned husband—Mrs. Le Plongeon, at first sight, dubbed the *great King Cocom*, *Mr. Panch*.

It is now your undoubted right to ask me: "Who is *King Cocom*? How are we to know that the individual represented on the stone before us is *King Cocom*?" In order to answer these questions, and to make sure that my answers leave no doubt in your minds, I will beg you to accompany me to Chichen. There, after you have made yourselves thoroughly acquainted with the most prominent features of his physiognomy in Mayapan, and with his no less remarkable head-dress, so as to be sure you will never forget them, but remember both again wherever you see them, I repeat, I will introduce him to you as he stands at full length, among other illustrious men of the country, at the entrance of

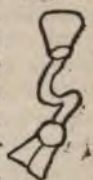
the castle.¹ Next, we shall meet him in the reception-room of Queen *Kinich Kakmó*, the wife and sister of the great warrior *Chaacmol*, where she is seated on her throne, surrounded by her own and her husband's guardian spirit *Kukulcan*, receiving the visits and homage of the lords and nobles tributary to her. Foremost among these is *Cocom*, offering his presents to the Sovereign, his liege lady.² Notice now the shape of the object he holds in his right hand (Fig. 3). It has the appearance of a sack or bag, but in form it recalls vividly to the mind the sign of offerings in Egypt.³ These are FACTS, small and insignificant as they may appear, that are not to be lightly disposed of. It is by bringing together all such FACTS, unimportant if taken separately, that we may arrive at unexpected results. *Small streams make mighty rivers.*



That King *Cocom*, the liege man of Queen *Kinich Kakmó*, yet the powerful ruler of Mayapan, is the personage represented on the antæ of the castle, in the bas-relief in the Queen's chamber at Chichen, and on the slab found by Abbé Brasseur at Mayapan, you have only to look at his *unique*, unmistakable nose, his short stature (he was dwarfish), his strangely shaped and towering hat (in which he has stuck a few additional feathers for the occasion of this court reception, as many fantastical men of our times do), to become satisfied of his identity. Should any doubt still linger in your minds, then read his name on the slabs. It is clearly written wherever his portrait appears. It is a peculiar yellow flower, well-known in the eastern and southern portions of the Peninsula. In the Mayapan slab it is partly closed (Fig. 4), near his head, but adjoining this sign, forming part of the inscription over the head of the standing figure, it is open in full



bloom (Fig. 5). These different methods of representing the name of the seated personage have also their meanings; but it is not my object to interpret them in this instance. Now if you look at the bas-reliefs in the Queen's chamber, there we find his name, just as clear; forming part of his speech to the Sovereign. The flower then is entirely open, you can see it just over his right hand holding the sign of offerings which terminate also with the petals of



¹ See among the collection of photographs of Chichen, made by me, which is in the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society, the full-size standing picture of *Cocom*. It is carved on the antæ sustaining the north-east end of the portico of the castle.

² Also in the same collection among the bas-reliefs in the Queen's Chamber, King *Cocom* is represented holding offerings in his right hand and a rattlesnake in his left. He is the foremost in front of the throne, and is adorned with an enormous collar or necklace of round beads.

³ Encyclopædia Britannica. *Signs of offerings*. P. LXXI. Egyptian hieroglyphs. Also Sir Gardner Wilkinson. *The Ancient Egyptians*. Vol. I. page 81. Vol. II. p. 515. The same sign for offerings is also on other monuments, under figures worshipping the mastodon's head.

the flower (Fig. 6); you will also notice that the petals are turned towards the Queen, to whom he addresses himself. On the *antæ*, the name is less visible owing to the greater deterioration of the stone: but there is his nose and his stupendous hat, these cannot be mistaken for those of anybody else, for he only, among the crowd there represented, indulged in ornaments of that peculiar shape.

Fig. 6.



Now let us see if we can satisfy ourselves still further, about the identity of the personage seated on the high chair on the Mayapan slab. Señor Don Pio Perez, whose name is familiar to you as a student of the ancient history of his country, who has written on the *Maya Chronology*, and whose works are quoted by Stephens, Brasseur, Valentini, Short and others, in his dictionary of the Maya language at the word *Cocom* says: *Cocom* is a sarmentous plant, with yellow flowers, from the leaves of which, during the feast of St. John, people make treacled cigars. *Cocom* was the name of an ancient Maya dynasty, and is still preserved as an indian family name among the natives of Yucatan.¹

But to make certainty doubly sure, let us consult tradition. This time we shall find that in this particular instance, it agrees with the history as preserved in the sculptures. Landa tells us: *that after the departure of Kukulcan, the lords agreed in order to make their republic stable, to give the principal command of it to the house of the Cocomes, either because it was the most ancient, or perhaps the richest, or may be that the man then at its head, was the one of most worth among them.*²

Whom do we see foremost, in advance of all the lords, in the court reception in the Queen's chamber, holding a rattlesnake in his left hand, emblem of his adhesion to Kukulcan's sect or party,³ but the very man whose features are portrayed on the slab at Mayapan? Who can doubt now that he is *Cocom*? There is his totem (a flower called *Cocom* even to-day) near all of his portraits. That he was the Ruler of Mayapan, his being seated on a high seat or throne as we see him on Brasseur's slab, while the other man is standing before him, and not

¹ Pio Perez.—*Diccionario de la Lengua Maya*, at the word *Cocom*. . . Una planta Sarmientosa que da flores amarillas y con cuyas hojas se hacen el día de San Juan cigarros enmelados. Dinastía antigua de los mayas . . . conservandose hasta hoy el nombre como apellido indio." This flower is almost unknown in the neighborhood of Mérida, but is abundant in the eastern and southern parts of the state. I was anxious to procure a flower in order to describe it and take a picture of it. I applied to Señor Dr. Juan Donde, Professor of Botany in the National Institute, one of the learned men of Yucatan; he also tried his best to obtain one, but in vain. Soon we hope to secure a specimen.

² Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. VII. Que partido *Cukulcan* acordaron los Señores para que la Republica durasse que tuviesse el principal mando la casa de los Cocomes, por ser mas antigua, o mas rica, o por ser el que la regia entonces hombre de mas valor.

³ *Kukumcan* o *Cukulcan*, the winged serpent is always represented as a rattlesnake, *ahaucan*, with feathers, only in the mural painting it has no rattle, but a dart.

alone standing, but on a low stool (a proof of his inferiority) in order to reach, somewhat, to the exalted position of his lord, who is pictured condescending to stoop toward his subordinate, clearly indicates that *Cocom* is the King. If you are not satisfied that this is the truth, then count the number of feathers on his hat and you will find that he has seven, just as the Queen *Kinich Kakmó* in the plate published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1878, where she is represented, when yet a child, consulting a *H-men* (wise man) to know her destiny. She has, also, seven feathers in her cap, whilst the personage standing on the stool before *Cocom* has only three. If that is not yet sufficient to convince you, then hear what Landa says of the duties of the lords towards *Cocom*.¹ *That all the lords were under obligation to visit, respect and divert Cocom, accompanying him, entertaining him sumptuously, and helping him in all important affairs . . . speaking of their mode of burial, he says:—When those of the ancient family Cocom died, they cut off their heads, cooked them in order to clean the meat from the bones; after which they sawed the hind-part of the skull, preserving the front with the jaws and teeth. They then replaced the wanting flesh in these half skulls with a certain putty, giving them with perfection the same appearance they had when alive. They placed them among their cinerary statues, which they had with their idols in the oratories of their houses, and looked upon them with great reverence and love.*²

To conclude my explanation of the slab of Mayapan, it only remains to call attention to the objects held by the figures. The standing personage evidently presents a petition, or a written oath of allegiance, to his Lord, in the shape of a scroll. Landa says: *Their books were written upon a large leaf, folded and enclosed between two boards.*³ Such MS. you will admit, must have formed a scroll when opened, and held for the lord to read.

As to the badge of authority, pray look at the badges held by the lords and nobles, as offerings at the feet of the Queen, in the court reception so often mentioned in these pages; and also to those in the hands of the chieftains and men of rank represented in my collection

¹ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. VII. Que todos los Señores tenían cuenta con visitar, respetar, alegrar a Cocom, acompañandole y festejandole y acudiendo a el con los negocios arduos . . .

² Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. XXXIII. . . . A los antiguos Señores de Cocom avia cortado las cabeças, quando murieron, y cozidas las limpiaron de la carne y despues aserraron la mitad de la coronilla para tras dexando lo de adelante con las quixadas y dientes, a estas medias calaveras suplieron lo que de carne les faltava de cierto betun, y les dieron la perfeccion muy al proprio de cuyos eran, y las tenían con las estatuas de las cenizas, lo cual todo tenían en los oratorios de sus casas con sus idolos en muy gran reverencia y acatamiento . . .

³ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. VII. Que escribian sus libros en una hoja larga doblada con pliegues, que se venia a cerrar toda entre dos tablas.

of mural paintings from Chichen, and you will soon become convinced that the object held by *Cocom* in his right hand and presented by him to the personage standing in his presence, is, as I have said, a mark of authority and distinction.

I will now call your attention to the smaller slab, but not the least important (Fig 7.) Also to the few characters it contains. Happily they are not defaced. We can easily read them and know their meaning. It is simply the name of a divinity held in as great esteem by the ancient Mayas, as by the inhabitants of Hindostan,

who gave it several names,¹ or by the Aryans,² and their descendants the Assyrians and the Persians,³ or by the Iranians, brothers of the Aryans,⁴ and by the Turanians, whose priests were the *magi*, the name of which may have been Mayas, since their head-man, the archimagus, was called *Rabmag*,⁵ the *old man*, in the vernacular of Yucatan, and since also Maya in Sanscrit means magician, prestidigitator. The deciphering of the name of this Divinity KAK, the fire, is most interesting: for while it proves to the world that the key to these Mural Inscriptions, discovered by Mrs. Le Plongeon and myself, is not only a FACT, but is the true one, it may cause us to hope that the day is dawning when the mysteries of these inscriptions will no longer be mysteries, when the history of the mighty nations that have left the traces of their passage on earth, rearing the stupendous monuments scattered, not only in the Peninsula of Yucatan, but throughout the whole of Central America, shall become known; when we shall learn

Fig. 7.



Slab at Mayapan, inscribed with the name
of the God KAK (Fire).

¹ Manava-dharma-Sastra. Translation of A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Lib. III., Sloka 100. *Notwithstanding the master of the house lives only from gleaned grain, he must make oblations to the five Fires, to wit: the Garhaptya, the Dakshina, the Shavaniya, the Avasathya, and the Sabhya. But the FIRE is by the Bramins often identified with the great and unique soul — Mahan Atmā.*

² *Agni* was called by the Aryan his protector, his relative (Rig-veda, Sect. I., lect. 5, p. 14, v. 4), his friend (Rig-veda, Sect. II., lect. 8, p. 13, verse 4.)—his protecting spirit.

³ Herodotus. Lib. I., (chap.) 131, lib. III., (Thalia) 16.

⁴ L. F. Alfred Maury. *Revue germanique*, 1861. *Les mythes du feu*, &c., &c., and *Croyances et Legendes*, page 45.

⁵ RAB=LAB (Maya), old and MAG=MAC (maya), person, hence *Rabmag*=*Lab-mac*, the old person, the *old man*—used even to-day to designate the paterfamilias, in England and the United States (my governor).

what were their relations and parentage with the inhabitants of all the other inhabitable portions of our planet.

We have met with this same inscription often, in Chichen, Uxmal, and now in Mayapan.¹ In every instance it is carved on the trunk of the Mastodon's head, the symbol of Delty among the primitive civilized inhabitants of the country, who have left vestiges of their religious worship,² figured and carved on stones.

The comparative study of the Maya language, as published lately by me in Mérida, in the *Revista de Mérida*, in the form of a letter to the late Right Rev. Bishop Courtenay of Kingston (Jamaica), in Spanish, in order that the Maya scholars might criticise it and pass judgment,³ was a revelation to Mrs. Le Plongeon and myself, which put us on the road to the finding of the key to the ancient inscriptions of the Mayas. On seeing that the Maya is akin to the most ancient languages known,⁴ and

¹ I have already told you that among the stones gathered at random among the ruins of Mayapan, and inserted, for safe-keeping, in the south wall of the veranda of the hacienda of X-canchakan, by Messrs. Solis, there are two with this inscription.

² In Chichen, on the façade of the monument called by Stephens *Iglesia*, and represented in the engraving opposite page 296, in his II^d vol. *Travels in Yucatan*, and forming the *main* ornamentation of the façade, is represented the adoration of the Mastodon's head. The four figures—two at each side of the head—are sitting, and hold their hands in worshipping, or rather, respectful positions, just as we see the Hindoos while praying, and the Egyptians when in presence of a superior, as shown in the illustrations pp. 272 and 301 of Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I. Both sides of the head we read the word DAPAS= TABAS= TABA=AP, Egyptian for *Head*. (See note Vol. I., p. 61, same work just mentioned). Under the worshipping figures are the signs of offerings, leaving no doubt as to the meaning of the representation there intended. This vividly recalls to the mind not Egypt, where the elephant was not among the sacred animals, but Hindostan, where we

see worshipped even to-day the elephant-headed divinity, Ganesa, the Hindoo *Thot*.



³ Maya is the vernacular language of the inhabitants of Yucatan. In fact the Indian population speaks no other. For this reason, it is taught in the Colégio Católico to young men who wish to dedicate themselves for the priesthood, by Rev. Don Secudino Baeza, curate of San Cristoval, who is master of it. My friend, Rev. Don Crecencio Carillo y Ancona, a Canon of the Cathedral of Mérida, acting Secretary of the Diocese, whose name as an historian, an archæologist, and a writer on the Maya tongue, is well known among those who have studied the works of Brasseur, has been pleased to write an article on my essay, in which he gives his opinion. The review was also published in the *Revista*. As Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and other dead languages are to-day taught in our universities, it would be very advantageous indeed, if some of our wealthy men should leave a sum of money to one of our Universities for the foundation of a Maya professorship. This beautiful tongue, not yet a dead one, would prove very important to philologists, historians and etymologists.

⁴ See my essay on the language of the Mayas, published in the *Revista de Mérida* and in the *Republican of Mexico*, in September last.

furnishes the etymology of many names of nations, divinities and places, the origin of which is, to say the least, doubtful; that many of the names of tribes and cities of Afghanistan to this day, are Maya words, and that in that country there are tribes which call themselves MAYAS, and live on the right bank of the river *Kabul* (the name of one of the mounds at Izamal, where anciently, according to Lizana and Cogolludo, was the image of a *miraculous hand* KAB-UL),¹ we naturally inferred that the alphabet of the *Mayas* might also contain letters and characters belonging to the alphabets used by these ancient nations. The study of the Maya inscriptions photographed by us during our visit to Chichen and Uxmal, during our former stay in Yucatan, soon gave us the proofs, that we had surmised rightly. We found that many of the ancient Chaldaic and Egyptian hieroglyphs—even the letters of the hieratic alphabet belong to the Maya inscriptions—had the same meaning and value in Mayapan as in Egypt and Chaldea; while there are other characters, of the precise significance of which, we are yet in doubt, that seem to belong exclusively to the Maya. Happily the inscription before you does not pertain to that class. We can easily understand its meaning. All we need, for the purpose, is simply an Unabridged Illustrated Webster's English Dictionary, opened at pages 1767 and 1768.

Among the *Remarkable Alphabets* contained on the latter page is one inscribed *Coptic or Egyptian*. On the former we read the title ANCIENT ALPHABETS, and we find columns headed *Conjectural Chaldaic Hieroglyphic Originals*, *Egyptian letters*, *Original Egyptian Hieroglyphics*.

It is to these columns that I will ask you to look for the value of the characters of the inscription before you. Please to remember that I make no appeal to your *imagination*, that I do not offer any theory, but simply present FACTS for your consideration and study.

Fig. 8.



We shall begin with the sign (Fig. 8), which stands on the slab, directly over Fig. 9. It is plainly visible among the Egyptian letters and hieroglyphs, where it is given as equivalent to our CH or HH. We see a



variety of the same sign in the column of the Chaldaic hieroglyphs. An altar with FIRE burning upon it, (Fig. 10). This sign is

Fig. 10.



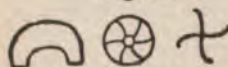
also Egyptian. It corresponds either to AA or to R=RA the SUN (Fig. 11), of which it is the hiero-

Fig. 11.

glyph. As to Fig. 12, it is *chi* of the Egyptian alphabet on the next page, our CH.—



Fig. 13.



Then the Maya inscription (Fig. 13), reads *chach* or KAK—in Maya FIRE² whether we read the characters from left to right, as in the cuniform writings of the Assyrians, or



Fig. 12.



¹Lizana. "Historia de N. S. de Izamal." Cogolludo. "Historia de Yucatan."

²The Egyptians used indifferently *Ch* or *K*; both letters being for

from right to left, as in those of the Egyptians.¹ Either way, in the present instance, the result is the same — *Chaach-Kaak-Fire*.

You will perhaps object that the character of the Maya inscription that I translate *Aa* is not simply Fig. 14. but Fig. 15.

Fig. 14.



Very true. The last sign is a compound of the former with the emblem of divinity.

Fig. 15.



Both, in the Egyptian writings, are equivalent, being the hieroglyphs of *RA*, the

Sun, the great divinity universally worshipped, not only in Egypt, but in Assyria, Chaldea, Hindostan, Mayapan, and throughout ancient America. Hence this emblem (Fig. 16) of divinity added to the

Fig. 16.

character, (Fig. 17), denotes that the meaning of the inscription is not *fire* simply, but the *GOD FIRE*.



That the emblem (Fig. 18) is that of divinity in Assyria, as in Mayapan, is evident. Mr. Phil. Smith, in his "Ancient History of the East,"² tells us that



the signs (Figs. 19 and 20), found on an obelisk in the British Museum, are the emblems of one of the principal gods of the Assyrians.

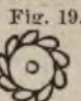


Fig. 20.



But these very emblems are frequently seen on the temples, on the palaces of the priests and kings of the Mayas, always either on the trunks, or forming the centre of the diadems adorning the foreheads of the Mastodon heads; (the grand symbols of the *Supreme Ruling Soul of the Universe*, among the primitive inhabitants of the Peninsula, as I have already informed you). They are very plain, forming the centre of the diadem of the Mastodon head, on the left hand side of the top of the arch dividing the south wing of the central or main body of the *House of the Governor*, at Uxmal, as you may see in the photograph.

Now, we are told by all the chroniclers who have written on Yucatan, that *FIRE* was worshipped by the ancient Mayas, and even by the mixed races that inhabited the peninsula at the time of the Spanish conquest.³

them equivalent. They spell the name of their country as often *Chem* as *Khem*.

KAK is the Maya for *Fire*—could it not be possible that the *Katans* who invaded Bactria and Media and were of Turanian stock, took the name from their primitive god *KAK* the *FIRE*, the *AGNI* of the Aryans?

The name *Agni* itself, according to Alfred Maury, *Croyances et Légendes*, note, page 39, comes from *AG*—to move in an undulating manner. According to Gremm's laws *g=k* and *Ak* in Maya signifies tongue, or withe, a twisted, undulating twig; giving the *A* a guttural or aspirated sound, we again have *KAK-fire*, which in Sanscrit is *KU*. But *Ku* in Maya means God.

¹ Herodotus, lib. II., chap. 36.

² Phil. Smith. Ancient History of the East, page 412.

³ This would prove that the civilization of the Mayas did not come from Egypt, as some are inclined to think. True, the Mayas had many customs similar to those of the Egyptians, but they had as many in common also with the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Hindoos, and other Asiatic nations.

Cogolludo, speaking of the *Zuhuy-Kak* (Virgins of the fire) the priestesses in Uxmal, says: that one of their duties was to take care of and keep alive the perpetual fire in the temples; that if through neglect of the one in charge, the fire became extinguished, she was put to death for her negligence.¹ Landa gives us details of the feast of the fire, which took place to celebrate the new year, commencing with the sign *cauac*.² His description recalls vividly to the mind the ceremonies performed by the Royal Scythians in honor of the god *Mars*, so graphically related by Herodotus³ and causes us involuntarily to wonder whence arises so striking a similarity of customs between nations living so far apart, and what may have been, in remote times, their mode of communication. (The Scythians, like our North American Indians, to-day, scalped their fallen foes, and carried the scalps as trophies). He also informs us, that during the festivities of the New Year, the *Chacs*⁴ were elected, and that they began their duties by lighting the *new fire*, into which all who had prepared themselves by fasts and abstinences of various kinds, threw small balls of incense prepared by the priests for the occasion. The *old fire* had been extinguished in the month of *Mac* during the feast called *Tupp-Kak* (the extinguishment of the fire) celebrated in honor of the *Chacs* the Gods of the rain, protectors of the fields, in order to obtain from them an abundant supply of water for their crops.

Landa does not tell us how the *new fire* was procured. Cogolludo, always so particular in mentioning all things pertaining to the customs of the aborigines, is also silent on this subject. But knowing that the

¹ Cogolludo. *Historia de Yucatan*, Vol. I., lib. II., page 284.

² Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. XXXVIII., page 230 Demas desto, para la celebracion desta fiesta hazian en el patio una grande boveda de madera, y henchianla de leña por lo alto y por los lados, descandole en ellos puertas para poder entrar y salir. Tomavan despues los mas hombres de hecho sendos manojes de unas varillas, muy secas y largas atadas, y puesto en lo alto de la leña un cantor, cantava y hazia son con un atambor de los suyos, vailavan los de abaxo todos con mucho concierto y devocion, entrando y saliendo por las puertas de aquella boveda de madera, y assi vailavan hasta la tarde, que descando alli cada uno su manojo, se ivan a sus casas a descansar y comer.

En anocheciendo volvian y con ellos mucha gente, porque entre ellos esta cerimonía era muy estimada y tomando cada uno su hacho lo encendian, y con ellos cada uno por su parte pegaron fuego a la leña, la cual ardía mucho, y se quemava presto. Despues de hecho todo braza, la allanavan y tendian muy tendida y juntos los que avian bailado, avia algunos que se ponian a passar descalços y desnudos come ellos andavan por encima de aquella braza de una parte a otra, y passavan algunos sin lesion, otros abraçados y otros medio quemados y pensavan era este su servicio muy agradable a sus dioses

³ Herodotus, lib. IV., page 62.

⁴ *Chacs* were the gods, protectors of the fields and of the rain. They also gave this name to the assistants of the priests, and they were elected every year in the month of *POP*.

natives of Yucatan, as the Aryans of old, still obtain fire by the swift friction of two pieces of wood together, one hard, the other soft—of the *pramantha* against the *arane*, as the Vedic poet would say, we are led to infer that in this manner the *Chacs* caused the flame of the *new fire* to spring into existence.

That we should find the *God Fire* represented among the Mayas by the same hieroglyph that the Egyptians used for *Sun*, and the emblems of one of the principal gods of the Assyrians, need surprise no one. True, the fire was not worshipped as a god by the Egyptians, who considered it as a *living beast that devours everything within its reach, and when replete and satisfied, dies with all it has swallowed*.¹ But not so with the Assyrians; for they, as the Aryans, very often identified *Agni* with the great luminary, source of all light and heat—life-giver of the world—with *INDRA*, from whom, at times, he seems to seize the first rank, becoming therefore the supreme deity. “*O! Agni*,” says the poet *Vasichtha*, “*no sooner art thou born than thou art the master of the worlds—thou walkest among them as the shepherd who visits his herds*.”² *O! Master divine of all nations, with our prayers we invoke thee, God resplendant and strong*.³ *Immortal Agni, thou art he whom the mortals invoke first in their prayers*.⁴ Says *Ramadeva*. Nay, more, *AGNI* is at times, for the Aryans, the god of the pure light—the true soul of the world.⁵ And we see that among the Brahmins, the *Duidjas* are enjoined to offer every day, the food destined for the gods, after having prepared in the domestic fire, the oblation of the *Homa* with all the wonted ceremonies. The Aryans also transformed *AGNI* into thunder and lightning and placed these as weapons in the hands of *Indra* to combat *Ahi* the Great Cloud Serpent⁶ his personal and most powerful enemy. “*Fond*

¹ Herodotus, lib. III., page 16.

² Rig Veda. Sect. V., lect. 2, h. 12, v. 3, Vol. III., page 45. Langlois's translation.

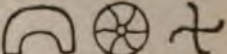
³ Rig Veda. Sect. V., lect. 2, h. 14, v. 7, Vol. III., page 47. Langlois's translation.

⁴ Rig Veda. Sect. III., lect. 5, h. 7, v. 5, Vol. II., page 126. Langlois's translation.

⁵ Rig Veda. Sect. IV., lect. 1, h. 18, v. 1, Vol. II., page 281. Langlois's translation.

⁶ *Ahi*. *The Cloud Serpent*. *The Winged Serpent*. *Ah—I*, the falcon (maya). The *Kukulcan* of the Mayas; the *quetzacohual* of the Mexicans; the *gukumatz* of the Quiches are names of the culture heroes of those different nations. I beg to differ from the opinion of those, who, resting merely on the authority, very feeble indeed, of tradition, consider them as personages who came and brought civilization among those people. I can assert, in the case of the Mayas at least, that they considered *Kukulcan* as a demilurge, and enemy of the sun. So it is represented in the mural painting at Chichen, and in the bas-reliefs on stone and wood at that place. It was the personification of the clouds, at least for the people, who were then as now, ready to believe whatever their *H-menes* and priests pleased to teach them as TRUTH. The Aryans thought that the clouds were enemies of the sun, because they obscured and interrupted its rays. So the Mayas—they also were good

of praise, firmer and more vigorous every time, he destroys the dwellings founded by the Asuras;¹ he prevents the celestial splendors from being veiled, and for the happiness of him who offers the sacrifice, he causes the rain to descend.² Again . . . Vretra³ causes drought upon the Earth, and with his powerful lightning, Indra, strikes him and causes torrents of rain to flow.⁴ So exclaims the Vedic poet. So also the psalmist: "He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies. At the brightness that was before him, his thick clouds passed, hail-stones and coals of fire. The Lord also thundered in the heavens, and the highest gave his voice . . . Yea, he sent out his arrows and scattered them; and he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them. Then the channels of waters were seen . . ."

The Mayas seem likewise to have entertained the same conception as the Aryans concerning the identity of the three divinities, *Fire, Sun and Thunder*. Probably they came to that belief by observing that the lightning burned their houses, as the sun scorched their crops. The antagonism of Kukulcan, the winged serpent, to the sun, and the reading of the inscription would tend to confirm that community of ideas. In fact we have seen  that these characters are equivalent to our *ch*, *aa*, *ch*; or CHAACH. *Chaac*, in the Maya language, means *Thunder, tempest of rain*.⁵ But Landa has informed us that *Chaac* was also the name of the *Gods of Rain*, that is to say, of the *masters of the rain*, to whom in the month of *Mac* the old men addressed their prayers in order to obtain from them an abundant supply of water, to irrigate their fields, and secure plenteous crops.⁷ There we evidently have the belief that the thunder conquers the clouds, and throws them on the

observers of all natural phenomena, but believed them the acts of genii friendly or inimical to mankind, according as they were benefited or injured by them. They had noticed that the vapors, suspended in the atmosphere, were condensed when an electrical discharge took place. They then imagined that the supreme God (call it INDRA with the Aryans, or KU with the Mayas), had killed his enemies with his thunderbolt. In the mural painting and bas-reliefs at Chichen-Itza, the *winged serpent*, the protecting spirit of Chaacmol, is always pictured antagonistical to the *sun*, the guardian genius of AAC, who at last kills Chaacmol by treason, with three thrusts of his lance in the back. The name Kukulcan is written on the tablets which occupy the place of the ears in the statue of Chaacmol, discovered by me, now in the National Museum at Mexico.

¹ Asouras. Powerful demons, always at war with the Gods.

² Rig-Veda. Sect. I., lect. 14, h. 9, v. 6, vol. I., page 108.

³ Vretra. A demon killed by Indra. It is the emblem of darkness dissipated by the rays of the sun. He is also the *winged serpent*, AHI.

⁴ Rig-Veda. Sect. 1, lect. 4, h. 15, v. 10-12, vol. I., page 118.

⁵ Psalm XVIII., verse 11 to 15. Holy Bible in use in the churches of England.

⁶ Pio Perez. *Diccionario de lengua Maya*.

⁷ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. XV., page 252.

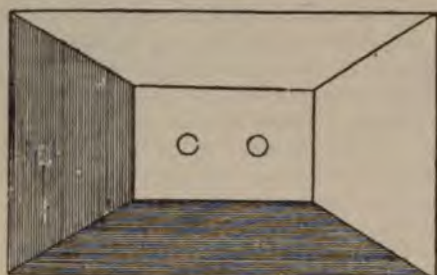
earth in the shape of water. Hence also the enmity of the serpent and the sun, so vividly represented in their mural paintings and bas-reliefs.

*"I wish to sing the antique exploits by which the thundering Indra has distinguished himself. He has wounded Ahi; he has scattered the waters on the earth; he has let loose the torrents of the celestial mountains."*¹

I will now call your attention to two stelæ I found on a small mound situated about one hundred metres from the south-east corner of the principal pyramid, named anciently *Kukulcan*, in the city of Mayapan. These stelæ are the first of the kind I have seen during my long and careful explorations of the ruined cities of Yucatan. I consider them of great importance, since they demonstrate the high scientific knowledge attained by the learned men among the Mayas. They might, it seems, have been able to hold their own, as far as mathematical and astronomical sciences are concerned, with the *Magi* and the astronomers of Egypt, as I hope to show you.

While measuring the platform on the top of the mound, that once was dedicated to *Kukulcan*, on searching the thicket, my eyes fell upon what I took to be the columns of the *Katuns*, illuminated by the rays of the sun sinking towards the West. On inquiring I was told: "Oh! it is nothing; merely two small round stones." I have long since learned by experience, as Stephens did, the meaning of these words. Often you are informed by the natives, of a place where according to them are very important monuments, which on examination turn out to be the insignificant remains of old walls, while, as in the present instance, things they consider not worth looking at, happen to be most interesting for science and history. I therefore insisted on examining the stones which had attracted my attention. Our Indian guide remarked that in that place there were many *garapatas*, that it was rather far, and tried to persuade us not to go, simply because as he had not considered the monument of sufficient interest for the foreigners to see, he had not opened a path to it, and he did not seem to relish the idea of doing it at this hot hour of the afternoon. Reluctantly therefore he took the van, when I told him that there we must go. A grin of gladness overspread Marcelo's face and betrayed his inward feelings, when he saw that the cattle had taken upon themselves to perform the duty he had neglected. Following the detours of the trail, clipping here and there a few boughs, we at last reached the foot of a small mound eight metres high, eleven metres, fifty centimetres wide at the base on the north side, but so much destroyed and overgrown that with difficulty we were able to measure it. Its ascent was anything but easy, but thanks to the branches and roots of the shrubs with which its sides were covered, we were able to reach the platform. There, the sun seemed to dart his hottest rays, as if to

¹ So begins a hymn in honor of *Indra* to celebrate his victory over the serpent *Ahi*. *Rig-Veda*. Sect. 1, lect. 2, h. 13, vol. I., pp. 56-57. Langlois's translation.

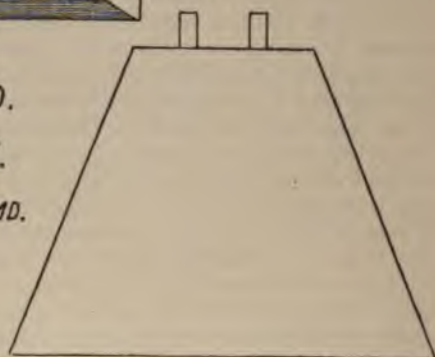


PLAN OF
GNOMON MOUND.
AT
MAYAPAN.
SURVEYED BY
A. LEPLONGEON, MD.
JAN. 1881.

SCALE.



EACH SMALL SQUARE 20^c.



prevent intrusion on a spot, where, of old, his worshippers had calculated his course through the heavens. The platform, four metres, seventy centimetres on the North and South sides, by three metres on the East and West sides, sustained two perpendicular stelæ of forty-five centimetres in diameter, and one metre high from the floor, which, once was perfectly leveled and paved with beautifully-hewn slabs of stone. To-day it is covered with a layer of ten centimetres of loam, product of the dust of the centuries, and of the decomposition of the plants that have grown there, and the rank grass which now covers it, since the city was abandoned in 1446 of our era.¹ The distance between the centre of the stelæ is 1^m 70^c, their orienta-

¹ I had occasion there again to verify an observation made by me in Chichen-Itza and afterwards in Cozumel, an observation that has enabled me to compute approximately, the time when the monuments were abandoned by those who dwelt in them. The accumulation of loam I had reckoned to take place at the rate of one inch per century, more or less. Well, since 1446 of the Christian Era, when, according to Landa, the city of Mayapan was destroyed and abandoned, 0^m 10 centimetres of loam has accumulated on the top of the gnomon mound in Mayapan, that is to say, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches of dust and decomposed vegetable matter has covered the platform of this astronomical edifice in 434 years. Hence by reckoning the accumulation to take place on the ruined monuments at the mean average of one inch in every hundred years, we are very near the truth.

tion East and West is as perfect as it could be made to-day with our improved instruments. Of course I made use of the metre. In a former communication, dated Belize, June 15th, 1878, in my description of Island *Mugeres*, I told you¹ "I have not adopted the metric standard of linear measure *from choice*, but *from necessity*, and the strange discovery that the metre is the *only measure of dimension* which agrees with that adopted by these most ancient artists and architects; another and very striking point of contact with the Chaldean priests, the *Magi*." This FACT, that of the adoption of the metric measure by the builders of the ancient monuments of Mayapan, is plainly corroborated by the careful protraction of the columns of the gnomon here annexed.

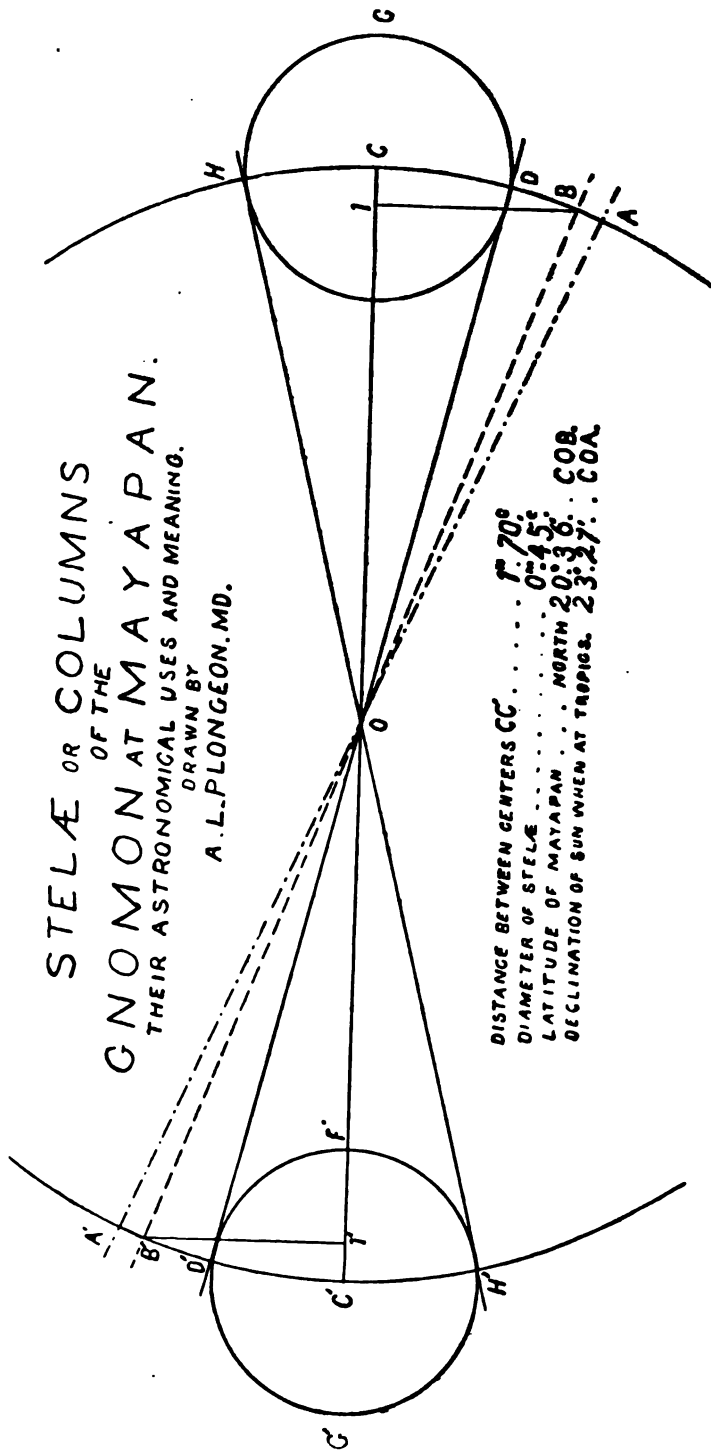
To this protraction I must now refer, in order to explain graphically the extent of the mathematical and astronomical knowledge attained by nations, that writers on the ancient civilization of America have been pleased to call semi-barbarous. Perhaps you will object that such science, such knowledge, was *then* the sacred privilege of the few. True; but cast your eyes on the populations which live on the earth to-day; nay! in the very countries that we consider at the van of modern civilization, and tell me is its science and knowledge the privilege of the masses, or of the few? What is the number of the truly scientific men in England, in France, in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, compared with the whole populations of these countries? How many truly scientific men are there in the UNITED STATES, *around you*, in a country which receives the best in art, science and literature, that the Old World can produce? How many among us do not even know how to read and write their own names, and yet we call nations *barbarous*, among whom with difficulty we shall find a man who does not know, not only how to read and write, but the first principles of arithmetic, as for example, the Chinese, Japanese, and others? FACTS are what are needed in the study of the history of humanity, ancient and modern; not theories!!!

Let us examine the accompanying diagram. It is carefully drawn by me, according to very accurate measurements. The FACTS it reveals are certainly most interesting. We cannot suppose that the gnomon was built at random, that the diameter of the stelæ, and the distance they are placed from one another, are wholly fortuitous. We must

¹ Stephen Salisbury, Jr. *Mexican Calendar Stone, Maya Archaeology*. Page 42.

² *Le caractère grandiose des constructions Babyloniennes et Ninive, le développement scientifique de la CHALDEE, les rapports incontestables de la civilisation Assyrienne avec celle de l'Egypte (et de l'Amerique Central avec les deux. A. L. P.) auraient leur cause dans cette première assise de peuple materialistes, constructeurs, auxquels LE MOND ENTIER DOIT avec le SYSTEME METRIQUE, les plus anciennes connaissances que tiennent a l'astronomie, aux mathematiques, et a l'industrie. Ernest Renan. Hist. gen. des langues semitiques. Pag. 60-61.*

STELÆ OR COLUMNS
OF THE
GNOMON AT MAYAPAN:
THEIR ASTRONOMICAL USES AND MEANING.
DRAWN BY
A. L. PLONGEON, MD.



DISTANCE BETWEEN CENTERS CC' 17.70°
DIAMETER OF STELÆ 0.45°
LATITUDE OF MAYAPAN NORTH 20.36° COR.
DECLINATION OF SUN WHEN AT TABICOS. 23.27° . . . COA

rather suppose that the construction of the astronomical instrument was subject to positive data, studiously calculated by the accomplished Maya astronomers. Judging of past humanity by the present, we must of necessity agree that the diameter and distance of the centres were the result of accurate calculation and knowledge. Would any scientific optician pretend to make, at hazard, any mathematical instrument, and assert that such instrument was a proper one to use for accurate observations? Such assertion would of course be looked upon as simply preposterous. And are we to suppose, that what the scientific men in our days would not do, the scientific men of past ages have done? Science remains the same, and the capacity of human intellect, when cultivated to its utmost extent, is very nearly the same in all countries, at all times.

We must admit that the precise dimensions given to the stelæ, and to their distance from each other, have had a cause as well as an object. What that cause and that object may have been, is for us to discover if we can; for the solution of this problem will tell us of the mathematical and astronomical knowledge attained by the *H-menés*.

Taking for granted that they knew the distance of the solstitial points from the equator; that is to say, the greatest declination of the sun, North and South,¹ I have traced the diagram, making use of a scale of two millimetres for every five metres, in the following manner: at the points *c* and *c'* extremities of the line *cc'* drawn through the centres of the stelæ and equal to the distance $1^{\text{m}} 70^{\text{c}}$ of their centres, with a radius equal to half their diameter $0^{\text{c}}, 22^{\text{c}}, 5$. I described the two circumferences *GDFH* and *G'D'F'H'*. These represent the columns of the gnomon, and their respective places on the platform of the mound. I then traced the tangents *D'D* and *H'H'* which bisect each other and the line *cc'* in *o*. With *o* as a centre, and a radius *oc* equal to half the line *cc'*, I described the circumference *HCDH'/C'D'A'* passing through the centres of the stelæ. Then from the points *c* and *c'* I measured the axes *CA* and *C'A'*, = $23^{\circ} 27'$ the declination of the Sun when on the tropical line, at the time of the solstices. You will please notice here that the chord *AD* which joins the arc *AD* is 1-12 (one twelfth) of the line *cc'*, the distance of the centres of the stelæ, proving that the Maya astronomers divided their astronomical year into twelve months of thirty days each, to which they added the *five days* when they said the sun was resting. To these, which they considered luckless, they gave no names. Here again we find another point of contact with

¹ I have taken it for granted that they knew when the sun had reached the tropics, and therefore its greatest declination $23^{\circ} 27'$, because the days that this declination does not vary they called *uayab ó nayab haab*, which means, according to Pio Perez, *the bed, or place where the sun rests*. These days are now from the 19th to the 24th of June, and from the 19th to the 24th of December.

the Egyptians,¹ and perhaps more particularly, the *Chaldeans*.² This corroborates what Landa tells us on the subject. "*They have their perfect year of 365 days and six hours, as ours, they divide it into months in two different manners, one is by dividing it in months of 30 days, and they call them u, which means moon; and they count them from the time that the new moon appeared, until the time she disappeared.*"³ The Hindoos, we learn from the *Manava-Dharma-Sastra* in the most remote times, also divided their years into twelve lunar months, and the month into two periods of 15 days each. The first, the lighted period (*Soukla-pakcha*) finished with the day of the full moon. The second, the dark period (*Krichna-pakcha*) with the day of the new moon.⁴ We have thus come to the knowledge of why the Maya astronomers placed the centres of the columns of their gnomon at the precise distance of 1^m 70^c. Let us now try to find out what may have been their motive for giving to the diameters of said columns 0° 45^c.

By observing the meridian altitude of the sun, I found that the latitude of Mayapan is 20° 36' north. I then traced on my diagram, taking the centre o as angular point, the angle COB equals 20° 36', prolonging

¹ The Egyptians also divided the year into twelve months of 30 days each, to which five days, called *epact*, were added at the end of the last month, *Mesore*. These, as among the Mayas, were considered unlucky. This was the solar or sacred year, which was somewhat different from the Gothic or sidereal year. This solar year seems to have been adopted, and the *Epact* added at a period so ancient that it is referred to the fabulous time of their history. But in the beginning they computed time, and divided the year by lunations, as did the Mayas, so that besides their solar year, they had a civil year divided in 18 months of twenty days, or lunar months, to which they added likewise the five unlucky days. (See Herodotus, lib. II., ch. 4.) And Sir G. Wilkinson. *Ancient Egyptians*. Vol. II., pp. 370-375.

² Phil. Smith, in his *Ancient History of the East*, page 400, says: "There can be no doubt that the Babylonian astronomy was more truly scientific than the Egyptian, and that it reached the highest perfection attainable without the aid of optical instruments. The Chaldeans knew the synodic period of the moon, the equinoctial and solstitial points, the true length of the year as dependent on the annual course of the sun (within a narrow limit of error) and even the precession of the equinoxes. Herodotus, lib. II., ch. 109, tells us that the Greeks learned from the Babylonians the division of the day into 12 hours, as well as the sun dial and the gnomon."

³ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. XXXIV., page 202. "Tienen su año perfecto como el nuestro de ccc. y lxxv. días y vii. horas. Dividenlo en dos maneras de meses, los unos de a xxx. días que se llaman *u* que quiere decir Luna, la qual contavan desde que salia nueva hasta que no parecia."

⁴ *Manava-Dharma-Sastra*. Lib. I. *Slokas* 66-67. . . "One month of the mortals is one day and one night of the *Pitres*; it is divided into two periods of fifteen days. The dark period is for the *Manes*; the day set apart for labor, and the lighted period; the night reserved for sleeping . . . One year of the mortals is one day and one night of the Gods, and this is the manner of its division. The day corresponds to the northern course of the sun, the night to its southern."

the leg OB until it meets the circumference HCD A H' C' D' A', and noticed that the chord CD, semi-diameter of the circumferences F D G H and F' D' G' H' of the stelæ is equal to (*two-thirds*) $\frac{2}{3}$ of the latitude of the place. Then the whole diameter is the 1-18 (one-thirteenth) part of the circumference passing through their centres c and c', which stands in this case for their week of thirteen days.¹ This, it seems to me, would tend to prove that they had some means for calculating accurately the latitude of places, but it certainly gives us the reason why they made the columns of the gnomon $0^{\circ} 45'$ in diameter.

But this is not all. Landa, Cogolludo, and after them, Pio Perez, tell us that they divided the year into eighteen months of twenty days each,² which they called *Uinal-Hun-Ekeh*, to which they added the five days and six hours. Well, this strange division of the year is also indicated by the dimensions given by the Maya astronomers to their gnomon.

In fact, the sine BI of the arc BC equals $20^{\circ} 36'$, the latitude of Mayapan, and is the 1-18 (one-eighteenth) part of the circumference HCD A H' C' D' A' passing through the centres c and c'. As to the 20 days into which these months were divided, you will find that the versed-sine CI is 1-5 (one-fifth) of the sine BI, representing the duration of one month. Double this sine would be ten days; on each stelæ, therefore, are the twenty days of the month. Landa tells us³ that their mode of counting was by fives up to twenty, and by twenties up to one hundred. Of course, by noticing the length of the shadow projected by the stelæ on the smooth floor of the platform, they could know the hour of the day. At night, as the Indians do even now, they could tell the time quite accurately by observing the course of the stars.⁴ By placing a style, or any narrow object, on the top of the columns, so as to rest on the

¹ Pio Perez. *Cronologia Antigua de Yucatan*, says: La triadecaterida ó periodo de trece dias, resultado de sus primeras combinaciones fué su numero sagrado en lo sucesivo y procuraron usarlo y conservarlo ingeniosa y constantemente sometiendo todas las divisiones que imaginaron para concordar y arreglar sus calendarios al curso solar. . . .

² Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Chap. XXXIV., page 204. Otra manera de meses tenian, de a XX dias, a los quales llaman, *Uinal-Hun-Ekeh*: destos tenia el año entero XVIII y mas los cinco dias y seis horas.

³ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Que su cuenta es de v en v hasta xx; y de xx en xx hasta c, Chap. XXIV., page 184. . . . Again. . . . Ya e dicho que el modo de contar de los Indios es de cinco en cinco, y de cuatro cincos hazen veinte; así en estos sus caracteres que son veinte sacan los primeros de los quatro cincos de los XX y estos sirven, cada uno dellos un año de lo que nos sirven a nosotros, nuestras letras dominicales. para comenzar todos los primeros dias de los meses de a XX dias. Chap. XXXIV., p. 206.

⁴ Landa. *Las cosas de Yucatan*. Reglan de noche, para conocer la hora que era por el luzero (*Venus*) y los cabrillas (pleiades) y los artillejos (gemini). Chap. XXXIV., page 202.

centres c-c', and noticing when its shadow fell perpendicularly on the platform and covered exactly the line they had traced for that purpose between the stelæ, they knew when the sun passed on their zenith, which phenomenon occurs twice every year, in March and July.

Here I will rest in my description of the gnomon of Mayapan, leaving it to the learned personages who have written on Maya chronology to theorize and tell us why the ancient astronomers of the Peninsula, or rather, of the city of Mayapan, adopted these two modes of computing time, that the chroniclers have recorded in their works, and which seem corroborated by the study of the gnomon. Whatever be the theories presented to the world by others, my duty toward you, and towards the students of American Archæology, is to present the FACTS as they are, without passing an opinion, for the present, on what I see; because I do not believe that we possess, as yet, sufficient positive and incontrovertible data for any one to form a true and correct opinion on the subject, free from hypothesis. I may remark, however, that this gnomon appears to have been built, subject to approved trigonometrical rules, which can leave no doubt as to the mathematical attainments of the builders. They seem to have taken as the basis for their calculations the latitude of the place, and the declination of the sun when at its resting place, as they called the solstitial points: FACTS that would do away with the mythical reasons attributed by Brasseur and others, for their computation of time, and bring us at once to the right ground in the presence of truth. I take it for granted that the learned men of old were no more foolish than the learned men of our days.

That this manner of computing time was used by the primitive civilized inhabitants of the great metropolis, Chichen-Itza; or by those who dwelt in it, when at the height of its splendor, when scientists and scholars flocked from all parts of the world to its temples and seminaries to consult the *Hi-Menes*, is more than, at present, we can positively know. It is quite probable, however, that their astronomical conceptions may have suffered the same changes as their religious ideas. These we can follow tolerably well, written as they are on the walls of the palaces and temples. We know that in the most remote times, they represented the God-head under the symbol of the *Mastodon head*; and notwithstanding the great respect for the memory of their ancestors, so strongly inculcated on their minds that even to-day, they would not fail to prepare the *Hanal-pixan* (the food of the soul), and offer it in particular places in the forests on *All Saints day*.¹ In after ages this

¹ We find that great respect for the memory of the ancestors was taught by the precepts of the *Manava-Dharma-Sastra* to the inhabitants of the peninsula of the South of Asia. We read in Book III., Sloka 23. . . . The ceremony in honor of the Manes is superior, among the Brahmins, to the ceremony in honor of the gods, and the offering to the gods, that precedes the offering to the manes, has been declared to augment its merit.

Respect for the memory of their ancestors is also one of the first duties

emblem became replaced by that of the *Winged Serpent Kukulcan* or *Ahi*, even in the city of the holy and wise men (*Itzaes*). While in Uxmal and other places where, in time, the Nahuatl civilization and religion prevailed, the phallic emblems were coupled with those of the sun, the fire, and the Mastodon head. The monuments also show the changes that had taken place in architectural taste, a consequence of the alteration in the customs, in the ideas, and in the mode of life of the people, caused, perhaps, by immigration and invasion, probably by commercial intercourse and frequent communication, by sea and by land, with the neighboring nations.¹ The ornamentation of the edifices also tells us of the progress of the artists in the arts of drawing and sculpture. But there we must rest until we discover genuine *Maya* books, and until some one is found able to translate them into any of our modern languages; for whatever we may pretend to know to-day, about the life and history of the primitive civilized inhabitants of the Peninsula, will only amount to mere surmises, notwithstanding the *Pio Perez MS.* published by John L. Stephens, and commented on by Professor Philipp J. J. Valentini.

I will now call your attention to the great mound at Mayapan which Landa says was built by Kukulcan, and named after him. Stephens *pretends* to have represented it in the engraving, page 132 of the first volume of his work on Yucatan. The *peculiar regularity of its shape*, as he says; but, more properly, the perfect mathematical symmetry of all its parts, carefully computed by its builders, will show you that the Maya architects were as well acquainted with the rules of trigonometry as their friends, the astronomers. While the construction of this pyramid, like that of all the other monuments of the latter period, will vividly recall to your mind that of the Assyrian buildings, its form will

inculcated on the inhabitants of China, and considered so important that in that country temples were dedicated to their worship. In the book *Chang-Soung*; Ode, *Lici-Tsou*, speaking of the behavior of the wise man, it is said: *He goes with holy thoughts and silence to the temple of the ancestors, and during the continuance of the sacrifice, no discussion as to the priority, or duty, must take place.* And we read in book I., *Chang-lun*. Chap. 3, Sloka 12 of the *Lun-yu*, that Confucius enjoins on his disciples this maxim: *It is necessary to sacrifice to the ancestors as if they were present.*

¹In the urn that contained the brains of Chaaemol we found two TOPAZES, now in the possession of Mrs. Le Plongeon, and in that where his heart and viscera were, was his talisman; a piece of polished JADE, cut in a peculiar shape. A similar stone, cut in the same shape, exists in the National Museum of Antiquities in Mexico. Well then, these stones, the sacred stones of the Americans, are only met with, according to Alcedo, in the silver mines of the mountains of New Granada, between the Isthmus of Darien and the Equator, where they were worked by native artists, while Topaz occurs in the Mercado mountains in Durango, and at La Paz, near Guanajuato in Mexico, says Dana in his work on Mineralogy. These precious stones existing in the urns placed near the statue of Chaaemol, leave no doubt about the communication of his countrymen with the inhabitants of these distant places.

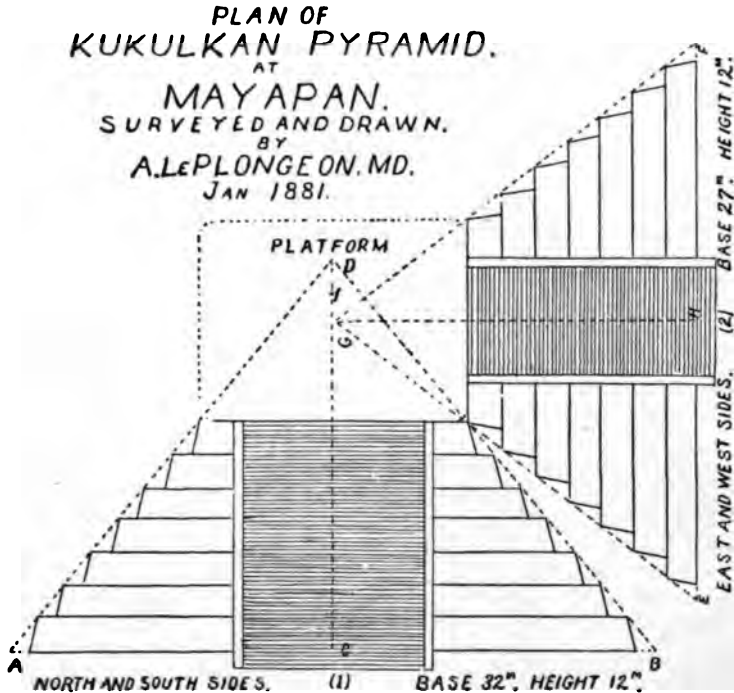
cause you to remember that of the oldest structures of the plains of Chaldea; the *Ziggurat* or graduated towers so characteristic of Babylonia, mounds without edifices (of which the oldest type known in history is the *Tower of Babel*); and from the tops of which the priests of the Mayas, as the *Magi*, elevated above the mists of the plain below, could trace through the cloudless sky, the movements of the stars and other celestial bodies, instead of cutting out, there, the hearts of human victims in the sight of the assembled people, as Stephens suggests.¹ There are no visible vestiges of sacrificial stones having ever existed either on the platform or at the foot of the stairs, where, if the place had served for sacrifices, they would have been erected, and where they are found to-day in other localities.

The mound is now in a very dilapidated condition and thickly covered with a rank vegetation. It is an oblong truncated pyramid, measuring, on the North and South sides, at the base 32 metres, and 14 metres at the top; on the East and West sides, the base measures 27 metres, and the top 10^m 60^c; making consequently the size of the platform at the summit 14 metres by 10^m 60^c. On the four faces are stairways containing 60 steps, each 25 centimetres high, that were encased in balustrades 45 centimetres in width, and constructed in gradients. The stairways on the North and South faces measure 10^m 50^c, those of the East and West sides 6^m 50^c, the height of the whole building being exactly 12 metres. The ascent to the platform on the summit is most difficult, owing to the fact that very few stones of those which formed the stairs are now in place.

By consulting the annexed plan of the mound, drawn by me from as accurate measurements as the ruinous condition of the edifice permits, you will observe that it appears as if composed of seven² superposed

¹ Mr. Stephens seemed to ignore that this mode of human sacrifices was not in vogue among the ancient *Mayas*, who sacrificed their victims either by shooting them with arrows, or by drowning in the great sacred well at Chichen. The sacrifices made by tearing out the hearts of the victims when alive, was an importation from Mexico, brought to Mayapan by Mexicans when they came as mercenary soldiers at the bidding of one of the *Cocomes*. Landa. Chap. VIII., page 49.

² This NUMBER 7 (SEVEN) of the stages of this and many other mounds (not to say the majority) in the Yucatecan peninsula, seems to have been among the ancient *Mayas* a *mystic number* as it was with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, Egypt, Hindostan, and other countries. The edifice known as the *Tower of Babel*, the *temple of the seven lights*, the *Birs-i-nimrud*, was made of seven stages or platforms; connected in some way in the opinion of many with the several planets, the 7 *marouts* or genii of the winds, the 7 *amschaspands* of the angelic hierarchy of Mazdæism, the 7 horses that drew the chariot of the Sun, the 7 *apris* or shape of the flame (or 7 rays of agni,) the 7 *manous* or criators etc. . . . The 7 lamps of the ark, and of Zacharia's vision, the 7 branches of the golden candlestick, the 7 days of the feast of the dedication of the temple of Solomon, the 7 heads of the Hydra killed by Hercules. . . . and to finish with quotations of number 7, and return to the *Mayas*, the 7 feathers, placed in the caps or headdresses of their kings as a mark of their rank.



platforms all of the same height, 1^m 70°, the one above being smaller than that immediately below by 0^m 90° exactly, from the upper line or edge of the platform or *anden*, to the foot of that next above, with an inward slope of 18°. You will also see, by the diagram of the superior platform, that all the corners are rounded, so also are those of the other platforms. (Let me remark here that this same peculiarity exists in all the monuments of the peninsula, even in those built in the most remote ages.) This mound, as all those that I designate as belonging to the latter period, in order to distinguish them from the most ancient, (which are built of solid stone masonry from their foundations to their summits, as those of *Khorsabad*,) is made of loose unhewn stones and rubbish, piled up so as to form the interior mass, which was then encased by a facing of carefully hewn stones, in this case without ornamentation; at least none is visible on the monument to-day. In many instances, this exterior facing is ornamented with sculptured designs, beautifully colored.

Does not this simple relation of FACTS bring before your eyes the description, *verbatim*, so far as the objects described are concerned, of

the monuments of Chaldea and Assyria in the works of Rawlinson,¹ and more strongly perhaps of Nebuchadnezzar's account of his rebuilding of the *Temple of the seven lights of the Earth*, found among its ruins and translated by Mr. Appert, the author of a cuneiform grammar. I will only quote the part of the inscription that relates to the manner of construction of the temple . . . "Since that time the earthquake and the lightning have dispersed its sun-dried clay. *The bricks of the casing* have been split, and the *earth of the interior* has been scattered in heaps." In the plains of Babylonia there were no stones; the builders of the *Temple of the seven lights* had, of course, to make use of the materials at hand. They formed the *core* of the structure with sun-dried clay, and the *facings* with hard-burned bricks. In Yucatan, where there is no clay, but stones, the rearers of the mound at Mayapan, and of those at other places in the Peninsula, formed the *core* of their construction with loose stones, using for the *facing* blocks of the same material, carefully hewn. The mode of building, however, was identical among the Mayas, as among the Chaldeans.

Again, the main distinctive feature of the Babylonian architecture, was a profuse employment of colored interior and exterior decorations. So also with the Maya. Examine my collection of photographs of the monuments of Chichen and Uxmal, and you will soon be convinced that the fronts of the monuments were literally covered with the most complex and elaborate ornamentation, and read Stephens's description of the interior of the funeral chamber in Chaacmol's monument, which he mistook for the shrine where the players at the games of ball came to make offerings to the Gods of the games, and look at the meagre sketch he gives of the beautiful mural paintings that covered the walls from the floor to the peak of the arch of the ceiling,² and it will not be long before you recognize that the builders of the temples and palaces, and the artists who decorated them, at Chichen-Itza and Babylon, seem to have been actuated by a surprising identity of ideas. Even the choice of the same colors would tend to

¹ Rawlinson. *Five Monarchies*, vol. I.

² John L. Stephens. *Travels in Yucatan*. Vol. II., page 310, and the engraving opposite.

My collection of mural paintings, traced from the originals, on tracing paper, contains all of the beautiful gems of aboriginal art that can be seen at present in the Peninsula, as far as I know. The walls of the second story of the *Palace and Museum* at Chichen were decorated in like manner. Alas! the stucco has fallen from the stones, and in falling carried with it the representation, in bright colors, of the life, customs, religious ceremonies and civil festivals, of a people, one of the most ancient, perhaps, on Earth, whose history may be irretrievably lost to the world, unless future investigations, carefully and scientifically conducted, bring to light some unknown monuments, never visited by white men, and which have not suffered at the hands of invading, inimical and vandalic tribes. I have heard of the existence of such places, *Tekal* for example.

suggest that the Maya and Chaldean painters had learned their art at the same schools.

The further study of the diagram of the mound at Mayapan will tell us of the mathematical attainments of those who drew the plan of the edifice and directed its erection. Fig. 1 represents the North and South sides, contained, as you see, within the isosceles triangle ABD. Fig. 2, the East and West faces which are inscribed within the isosceles triangle EFG. These triangles are not equal. The base of the triangle ABD = $33^m\ 80'$; that of the triangle EFG = $28^m\ 80'$; their heights being also different. Yet you will notice how accurately the lines of the edges of the platforms intersect the legs AB, DB, EG, FG, in the same proportional ratio $1^m\ 80'$ in both triangles, the sides of the pyramid preserving also the same inward slope, an angle of 18° . Well, such mathematical accuracy is not the result of mere guess-work, at least I don't think it is; it is rather the result of a perfect knowledge on the part of the architect, of the rules for the resolution of triangles. For in order to know what height they should give to their triangles, the bases being different, they must have had recourse to the same calculations as we would, to ascertain that they must make the height CD of the triangle ADB equal to the height HG = CI of the triangle EFG + $1^m\ 70'$, exactly the height of one platform, to give the same height to the whole building, and cause the lines of the edges of each angle to intersect the corresponding line on the other side, at the same point on the legs of their respective triangles. Hence, as I have said, they must have been well acquainted with the science of trigonometry.

The study of the diagram also teaches that if the Mayas had adopted the same style of building as the Babylonians, graduated truncated pyramids, it was from *choice*, as they preferred the triangular to the circular arch, knowing how to construct domes, and not *from ignorance*. That like the Egyptians,¹ they could have made complete pyramids is perfectly plain. By filling up the platforms and following the direction of the legs of the triangles ABD and EFG, and, as they have done in some instances, continuing the construction to the apex, they would have produced them, had they liked. This predilection for the *graduated truncated pyramid*, would be another circumstantial evidence tending to prove that the civilization of the Mayas did not come from Egypt; but mayhap the contrary way.

We are told that the marked distinction between the Babylonian temple towers and the Egyptian pyramids is, that the former, if their stages were filled up would form *oblique pyramids*, with their *angles* to the cardinal points, while the Egyptian have *always* their axes perpendicular to the horizon, with their *faces* to the cardinal points.

¹The Egyptian pyramids are graduated, only the degrees are smaller, more numerous, and continued to near the apex. Yet the *Sakkara* pyramid is a remarkable evidence that the Egyptians did not always fill the platforms in order to complete the edifice.

I have shown, in my essay on the Maya language, that it contains many words, and ethnologies of names, belonging to well-nigh all the ancient known languages. I have told you that in the Maya alphabet we find letters and characters pertaining to the *most ancient* Egyptian and Chaldaic alphabets, even their mode of writing in squares, is similar to the hieratic writings of the Chaldeans or Babylonians, as I *assert* also. We see that their architecture partakes of that of the Egyptians and Babylonians, besides having a style which belongs to none of those ancient nations.

That they had perpendicular pyramids, with their faces to the cardinal points, as the Egyptians, the mound of Mayapan proves. But the great mound situated on the North side of the principal square of Izamal, on the top of which stood formerly a temple dedicated to *Kinich Kakmó*,¹ the Queen of Chichen, wife of Chaacmol, who, after her death obtained the honors of apotheosis, is an *oblique* pyramid, the very counterpart of the temple of the Moon at Mugheir, described by the explorer, Mr. Taylor.² Besides these two modes of constructing pyramids, they had *one exclusively their own*, as we see in the great mound at Uxmal, on the top of which is the building called by me *Sanctuary*, but designated in Stephens's work as the *DIVINER'S HOUSE* (*La casa del adivino*). Its construction is as follows: from the ground up to a certain height it has the shape of an *elliptical cone*. Then its form changes into an oblique oblong pyramid, terminated by a narrow platform on which stand two long narrow apartments. Its widest sides face the East and West; there, are situated the stairs by which to ascend on the West side to the suite of rooms on the top, to a narrow platform on the East side of which is built the *Sanctuary* proper. The sides of the pyramid are smooth stone walls without degrees of any sort, but with apartments reserved in the body of the pyramid, on each side of the stairs of the West face, at a height of about five to six metres from the floor of the court.

I will terminate this paper by stating to you a strange piece of information I received while in Progreso, in September last. I was waiting for the ill-fated steamer *City of Vera Cruz*, en route for the City of Mexico, at the request of Hon. Phil. R. Morgan, our most gentlemanly American Minister, resident in that city. He had written to me that he desired that I should begin nothing serious among the ruins of Yucatan, without going to the capital and obtaining the permission of the Federal Government of the Mexican Republic.

¹Lizana. *Historia de Nuestra Senora de Izamal*. Lib. I. . . .

"Assimismo haria otro celyo, ó cerro de la parte del Norte que hoy es el mas alto, que se llamara *Kinich Kakmó* y era la causa, que sobre el hacia un templo, y en el un ídolo que se llamava assi *sol con rostro que sus rayos eran fuego*, y baxava a quemar el sacrificio a mediodia, como baxava la *vacamaya* con sus plumas de varios colores"

²Taylor. His account of the ruins in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. Vol. XV., page 264.

In the course of conversation with Señor Luis Morales, one of the principal merchants of Progreso, this gentleman told me of an ancient cemetery situated in the outskirts of the town, in which skeletons of great size, with the skull enclosed in an earthen pot, had been dug out on several occasions. He offered to introduce me to Mr. Fermin Domingo, one of the oldest settlers, who had found them while looking for stone to build his houses. The last named gentleman was kind enough to propose to accompany me to the place, and explain how things were thirty years ago. I invited Mr. Louis H. Ayiné, the American Consul in Yucatan, to accompany us.

The cemetery is situated on the bank of the slough in the rear of the town, on the edge of the swamps. I saw in many places, pieces of broken pottery, and of human bones, which were easily pulverized on being lightly pressed between the fingers. Mr. Domingo pointed out to me the site where, not many years ago, existed a mound, about twenty feet high. Not a vestige of it remains to-day, the stones of which it was made have been used to build the houses of the town, and the fences. In the course of his graphic description, he pointed out eight square holes in the ground, forming two symmetrical parallel lines of four in a row. "There," he said, "I found the most singular things you can imagine, and up to the present moment I can't make out what they served for." "There," pointing to a certain spot, "is where once stood the mound; on this side, the Western, were the stairs. Now in each of these eight holes, I found a large stone urn (*pila*) measuring about three feet each way. They were all alike; and every one was covered with another exactly like it, sealed to the one below with mortar. They were all empty, and a small hole was bored in the bottom of the lower ones."

Mr. Rubio, the owner of a part of this ancient cemetery yet undisturbed, not only confirmed Mr. Domínguez's relation but added so many more details that he fairly awakened my curiosity. I petitioned the Common Council for permission to make a few excavations, to procure, if possible, one of the gigantic skeletons spoken of by my informants. The petition was granted, provided I would agree to place all my finds in the hands of the Common Council, subject to the orders of the Governor of the State. This proviso acted as a perfect refrigerative, that cooled my warmest hopes of being soon able to send for your examination and study, the remains of some of the traditional giants, who, once are said to have inhabited the Peninsula, and whose bones have often been unearthed.¹

Now, here again, in the stone urns found by Mr. Fermin Domingo, in the ancient cemetery of Progreso, we have a reminiscence of some of the tombs that encircled the old cities of the lower plain of Chaldea, so fully described by Rawlinson;² and we can easily recognize the

¹ Cogolludo. *Historia de Yucatan*. Vol. I., lib. IV., Chap. V.

² Rawlinson. *Five Monarchies*. Vol. I., page 113.

kind used by the Chaldeans for the burial of a single corpse, namely an earthenware coffin formed by two bell-shaped jars, placed mouth to mouth, and sealed at the joint with bitumen, an opening being left at the end for the escape of the gases resulting from decomposition.

This is a resumé of my observations and last investigations among the ruins of Mayapan. I consider it a pleasure, as well as a duty, to submit to your criticism, begging you to bear in mind, that I do not present any theory, but relate bare FACTS.

A few words more and I have finished. I know that after the patience of an audience has been taxed to its utmost by listening to the reading of a paper like this, one of the bored listeners thinks it his prescriptive duty to rise and propose a vote of thanks to the writer. In the present instance I beg to decline such a vote. Not in humility, but in justice, because it belongs by right to His Excellency Fred. P. Barles, Esq., Lieut.-Governor of British Honduras; and to Mr. Pierre Lorillard, of New York.

I will explain. Since by the acts of arbitrariness of the petty officers of the Mexican Government, and contrary to the law of the land, I have been despoiled of the statue of Chaacmol, and the Federal Government of Mexico disclaiming all responsibility in the matter (see Mr. Foster's letter below) has refused to indemnify me up to the present day, for my labor and my money spent in the patient study of the ruined monuments of Yucatan during four years, with the knowledge and consent of the Governor of the State; for the study that has enabled me to know the place where the statue was buried, in the midst of dense forests at eight metres under ground, and to obtain the knowledge of many interesting FACTS concerning the life, science, religion and history of the builders of the monuments. Since also, I saw the manifest indifference of the American Government¹ and of the Ameri-

¹This is the first opportunity that has offered itself, in so many years, for thanking Hon. George F. Hoar, and Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., for the interest they have manifested in my work, and their efforts in my behalf in trying to induce the American Government to protect me as an American citizen abroad, and a scientist whose explorations were interrupted, and the results of whose explorations were taken from him by the officers of the Mexican Government. I beg both these gentlemen to accept my most heartfelt thanks.

When I speak of the indifference of the American Government it is not without cause. In fact, when I knew of the seizure of the statue of Chaacmol by General Protasio Guerra, I was in the Island of Cozumel. Immediately I wrote a memorial to our minister in Mexico, then Hon. John W. Foster. It is dated May, 1877. This gentleman never took the trouble even to acknowledge the receipt of the document, which Hon. Mr. Hoar had printed when he presented my claim to the American Congress in 1878. Congress has never taken any action in the matter, up to the present day. Mr. Salisbury used his influence with the Secretary of State Hon. W. M. Evarts, to try to obtain redress for me, and received from the Secretary a letter stating: "*I have taken pleasure in writing to Mr. Foster, the Minister of the United States in Mexico, to commend Dr. Le Plongeon to him, and request him to aid Dr.*

can scientific societies, not only in not affording all due and rightful protection to an American scientist; but in being unwilling even to assist him to obtain the necessary means for continuing his investigations, by purchasing his collection of photographic views of the ancient monuments, and his tracings of mural paintings; since I felt that I was abandoned by ALL, notwithstanding ALL wanted to procure from me GRATIS what had cost me so much time, labor and money to acquire, I made up my mind to keep my knowledge, so dearly purchased, to destroy some day or other my collections, and to let those who wish to know about the ancient cities of Yucatan, do what I have done.

These are some of the reasons why, until now, I have been so reticent, notwithstanding the entreaties of many students of American Archaeology in Europe and the United States. But these are not all. The main cause of my unwillingness to say more on the subject is, that my former writings, when published, have been so curtailed and clipped, to make them conform with certain opinions and ideas of others, that my own have altogether disappeared, or have been so

Le Plongeon's application to the Mexican Government by any proper means within his power." As soon as I was made acquainted with this fact, in September, 1879, I wrote again to Mr. Foster, who answered me January 2, 1880, as follows:

"In reply to your inquiries, I have to state that soon after you sent me your memorial and letter in May, 1877, I discussed the matter with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and he *denied all responsibility* on the part of the Mexican Government to you, on account of the appropriation by it of the image. He maintained that under the Mexican law all antiquarian relics belong to the Government, that no person without the authority of the Federal Government can in any way interfere with them, and that their exportation from the country is expressly forbidden. Until the Mexican Government can be induced to change its position as to its responsibility, it is useless to make any proposition to it in regard to a compromise of the claim by the acceptance of lands, as indicated in your letter.

Under the regulations of the Department of State, this legation has no authority to officially present a claim to the Mexican Government, until it has first been regularly examined by said department and specific instructions given by it. Mr. Evarts's letter, which you quote, *did not contemplate* any other than my friendly and *unofficial assistance*, such as I have already given. Before I can take any official action, the claim *would have to be submitted* by you to the department, and its instructions communicated to me. In view of the existence of the Mexican law, and the *decided negative* of the Mexican Foreign Office, I very much doubt whether you can induce this government to recognize the justice of your claim.

Very truly,

Signed, JOHN W. FOSTER."

I may add that if it be true that there is a law of the year 1827, forbidding the exportation of antiquarian relics from Mexico, there is none authorizing the Mexican Government to appropriate said relics, when in the possession of private individuals; so true is this, that Mexican antiquities are daily sold in the City of Mexico, publicly, and sometimes bought for the National Museum.

disfigured as to cause me to be taken for what I am not — an enthusiastic theorist following in the wake of Brasseur de Bourbourg. The true FACTS presented by me were considered as mere vagaries, scarcely worth the notice of cool-headed men,¹ who notwithstanding know absolutely nothing about the subject upon which they pretend to pass an opinion.

In conclusion, were it not for the entreaties of many of my acquaintances in England, men of science and knowledge, and particularly for the earnest counsels of my good friend Fred. P. Barlee, Esq., not to deprive the scientific world at large (that in fact, knows as yet but little of Mrs. Le Plongeon's and my own works and discoveries and that little not quite favorably) of our knowledge of the ancient ruined monuments of Yucatan, and ourselves of the just reward due to us; were it not also, for the generosity of Mr. Pierre Lorillard, who, not pretending to be a scientific man, has nevertheless advanced the necessary funds to enable me to pursue my studies during the present dry season, and find if possible, the meaning of the characters of the Maya alphabet, which yet remain a problem to solve, this paper would never have been written.

To these two gentlemen, consequently, if to anybody, the vote of thanks belongs. With your leave then, as a member, I propose that a vote of thanks be given by the American Antiquarian Society to Messrs. Fred. P. Barlee and Pierre Lorillard, for the moral and material support given by them to the writer, and for their efforts to promote the study and advancement of archæological science in America.

AUGUSTUS LE PLONGEON.

¹ John T. Short. *The North Americans of Antiquity*, page 396
 "Still, [says Mr. Short] we cannot refrain from expressing the regret that Dr. Le Plongeon's enthusiasm is so apparent in his reports, a judicial frame of mind, as well as the calmness which accompanies it, are requisite both for scientific work and the inspiration of confidence in the reader" Thanks for the advice! But I will ask Mr. Short what in fact does he know about Yucatan, and the history of its primitive inhabitants? Is there anywhere a man, who, to-day, knows about these things so as to pretend to pass an opinion on them? What does Mr. Short know of the monuments of Yucatan? Has he ever read a true description? Where? It has never been published to my knowledge. Who is to know best about them, Mr. Short, who has never seen them, or Dr. Le Plongeon, who has made a special study of them, *in situ*, during seven years?

TWO MEXICAN CHALCHIHUITES, THE HUMBOLDT CELT AND THE LEYDEN PLATE.

BY PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI, PH.D.

I HAVE chosen for my subject two green stones, of the class known in archæology as Mexican Chalchihuites.¹ These stones are of the so-called *celt form*. Figures of men, symbols belonging to the Maya calendar, and various other objects, which admit of interpretation, are carved on their surfaces.

One of these Chalchihuites is known as the Humboldt celt. A Mexican gentleman, Sr. del Rio, made a present of this celt to A. von Humboldt, when he was engaged in his famous tour of exploration through Mexico, in 1804. Humboldt deposited the stone in the Royal Museum of Berlin, without commenting upon it. Lord Kingsborough took notice of this relic, and gave the first illustration of it in Vol. V. of his *Collection*. But it was not until 1875, that Professor Fischer, of Freiburg University (to quote his own expression), "succeeded in rediscovering the precious and forgotten celt on the dusty shelves of the Berlin Museum." Several years ago, the other Chalchihuitl was discovered by S. A. von Braam, a Dutch civil engineer, while opening a trench toward the Graziosa River, near St. Felipe, on the frontiers of Honduras and Guatemala. It was found, quite unexpectedly, at a very great depth below the surface. I am unable to give you more particulars connected with this valuable discovery, save that it passed into the Museum of Leyden, whose director, Dr. C. Leemans, at a meeting of the *Congrès International des Américanistes*, in 1877, made a report concerning it, which is printed in the *Comptes Rendues*, Tom. II., p. 283.

Copies of these two specimens, I now desire to present to our Society,—not the original Chalchihuites, but plaster casts taken from them in Berlin and Leyden. But as they were manufactured under the supervision of the museums named above, they are almost perfect *FAC-SIMILES*. They were presented to me by Prof. Fischer, who has shown deep interest in the origin and character of those antique stones and who desires me to make an explanation of the strange characters engraved upon them.

He labors under the impression that such an explanation, if possible, would contribute, in a certain degree, to unveil the mystery in which the origin, the peculiar form and shape, and the practical purpose of these celts is still enshrouded. I feel very much flattered by the confi-

¹ The singular of Chalchihuites is Chalchihuitl, and as I have never found the plural in its native form in any author treating on this subject distinctly, and as our grammars are very uncertain indications, I have given the plural the Spanish ending *es*, following the practice of other authorities.

dence he has shown in my explanations of Mexican hieroglyphics. The objects have been before my eyes for a long time, and indeed I think I shall be able to tell something about them. I only doubt whether my friend's curiosity will be satisfied with the results which I have reached, and also whether I shall be able to enlist your attention to the subject.

The explanation of the carvings requires a preface, which will contain the theory which Prof. Fischer has formed upon these and other Mexican chalchihuites, a theory which, on account of its novelty, its depth of research and surprising results, must necessarily make the starting point of my later remarks. Briefly stated, this theory is as follows: that these two stones, together with a few others of their kind, though they were dug from American soil, can not possibly be considered indigenous to this continent. This assertion is based upon the circumstance that in the North as well as the South of the whole American continent, no mine or rock has been discovered, from which, in a geognostical sense, the substance of these stones could have originated. This is the negative part of his argument. The positive one is, that a scientific diagnosis, which he made of the stones, points directly to a certain locality in Western Asia, this locality being the only place in which this variety of stones, from time immemorial, has been and still is mined, shaped, sold and employed in superstitious worship.

Here then, for the first time, after so many fantastic and vain speculations, the much agitated question of a prehistoric intercourse between Asia and America is approached in a new way, under the shield of correct methods, by a man trained in the school of severe analysis, from whom therefore, we may expect scientific evidence for his assertions. To give a full report of all the premises from which his surprising conclusions were drawn, would be interesting indeed; however it would exceed the limit of time allotted to this subject. Therefore, permit me to explain, in the form of a brief chronological synopsis, how it has come to pass that the simple Mexican chalchihuitl, by the lapse of time has grown into the prominence of offering a key for the solution of a prehistoric problem. The majority of these data are taken from Prof. Fischer's work on "Nephrite and Jadéite."

1). Green and blue glass beads were objects of a lively barter between the natives of Yucatan and the crew of Cordova's expedition, in 1516.

2). The demand for them increased, in 1517, on the Grijalva expedition, and could not be supplied on the third, in 1518, at the arrival of Cortés. The Spaniards were ignorant as to the ground of the predilection of the natives for these trinkets. A few sailors are said to have made a fortune by their sale and left for Spain.¹

¹ Compare what Bernal Díaz, a soldier of Cortés' tripulation, says of this traffic, in his *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, chapters 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 25, 27, 29, 35, 40, etc.

3). Moctezuma, the captive, on various occasions, presents his jailers with small chalchihuites. Cortés receives two larger ones, each of which are said by Moctezuma to be worth two loads of gold.¹

4). At the arrival of the chalchihuites in Spain, they are at once discovered to have nothing in common with emeralds or other jewels of green color.²

5). Learned people at this epoch, begin to recognize similarities between the green stones brought from Mexico and those imported by trade from Asia.

6). The conquistadores, attacked by an epidemic disease of the kidneys, are advised by the native doctors to wear the chalchihuitl. "He, who wears it when sick, is restored to health, and when healthy will remain so." The inquiring missionaries ascertain that the Goddess Chimalma has given birth to Quetzalcohuatl, the venerated American apostle, out of the substance of a chalchihuitl, that the stone, if laid upon the tongue of the deceased, will help the soul to pass the seven ordeals before reaching Quetzalcohuatl in heaven.

7). The same story of the magic and medical power inherent in the green stone is found by the learned Europeans to be also in vogue with the Asiatics. Quotations from the classic writers who gave these stones the name of Nephrite, *i. e.*, kidney-stone, serve to prove the assertion. The American chalchihuites begin to figure in literature and in mineralogical collections under the name of Nephrites.³

8). In the past three centuries, treatises on these green stones have been presented by fifty-one authors. The nineteenth century has produced the distinguished names of Leonhard, Ritter, Stoltzka, von Hochstetter, von Schlagintweit and Fellenberg among the Germans; the French have Damour and Abel Rémusat; the Americans, Squier, Dana and Pumpelly.

9). A new era of archæological research begins with the discovery of the lacustrine dwellings in Switzerland (1854.) A large number of small, middle and large sized Nephrite-celts are dredged from the bottom of the Helvetian lakes. The questions are asked and discussed as to whether those lacustrine dwellers were aborigines or immigrants? Has Nephrite its origin in Switzerland in Europe, or if not, where?

¹ Bernal Díaz, *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, chapter 104.

² *Petrus Martyr de Angleria*, De Insulis nuper inventis. Dec. IV., Chapter IX., in which a report is given of the presents Cortés sent to the Emperor. . . . "also two chains of gold, whereof the one contained 8 liuks, in which were set two hundred and thirty-two red stones, yet not rubies, and one hundred eighty-three green stones, yet not smaragds. Nevertheless these are in like estimation with them, as the others are with us."

³ French, English and Germans call it *Jade*, a corruption of the Spanish name "*pedra de hñada*" (stone against the hip disease). The Persians call it *yeshm*, the Turks and Mongolians *khasch*, the Chinese *yu*.

Did the lacustrine dwellers procure the celts through mining or by trade, or did they bring them on a migration tour from distant localities? How was the Nephrite shaped to the form of celts, the diamond only being able to make an impression upon its surface?

10). Turkestan is pointed to as being the most probable home of the Nephrite. The journey of Stolzka to discover the mines. The expedition of the brothers Schlagintweit to the same country, where one of them is beheaded by the sultan of Kashgar. Robert Schlagintweit's researches in Kokhand. He asserts that Nephrite forms a system of massive rock, like sandstone, trap or granite, and is gathered partly from alluvial boulders, partly from the rocks themselves. The Emperor of China has in all time past been the monopolist of the Nephrite mines in Turkestan. Another home for Nephrite is found in New Zealand by von Hochstetter. A third in Irkutsk. It is by the specific hue of color that these three differently located Nephrites are discriminated.

11). Prof. Fischer begins to make the study of Nephrites a specialty. (1874.) The ideas he starts from: Mineralogy and chemistry are sciences auxiliary to archaeology. The same species of stone, worked into the same shape, points to the same workmen. The Nephrite stone shaped by the ancient orientals to the form of a celt, is not only discovered in Asia, but also in Europe and America. Nephrite mines, however, are known to exist only in Asia. Therefore prehistoric communication by the Asiatics with Europe as well as America is suggested. All facts bearing upon the demonstration of the supposed fact must be gathered, critically weighed and put into the shape of conclusive evidence.

12). Prof. Fischer performs the task in three ways. FIRSTLY: He works out and publishes a bibliographical account, a kind of chronological catalogue of all that has been written on the *Green Stone* during 2180 years, from the Holy Scriptures down to the present day. About 260 passages are taken from the authors and commented on. The book is adorned with 135 cuts representing as many interesting green stones as the professor was able to secure in private and public collections. Curiously, green stones figure in literature under not less than 115 different names (misspellings of course included). This catalogue has the appearance of a picture book, reads like a romance of human superstition and yet is, actually, an impressive document of sober thought and science. It was published in Stuttgart, in 1875, numbers 407 pages and bears the title, *Nephrite and Jadéite*. SECONDLY: The literary survey having been given, precise statements were required as to the mineralogical nature of the Nephrite, its specific weight, hardness, color, breaking, transparency, fusibility, etc. An analysis gained from more than one hundred specimens, resulted in determining three different varieties. The first was called *Nephrite* proper, the second *Jadéite*, and the third *Chloromelanite*. Nephrite belongs to Hornblende, is a very homogeneous mineral, its color is varied light green, and its specific

weight never exceeds 2.9. Jadëite and Chloromelanite chemically are entirely different from Nephrite, whose magnesia is represented by argillaceous earth, and are not so homogeneous; color spinage green; specific weight always exceeding 3.1—3.9. Chloromelanite is interspersed with yellow particles, sp. w. 3.32—3.41. THIRDLY: Interest in the solution of the problem, and confidence in the professor's skill and earnestness of purpose, assist him in securing the scientific control of almost all specimens of worked green stones, existing in the hands of private collectors and museums in Europe. When secured, his first operation was to separate as foreign to his consideration, all the stones which he recognized as Falso-Nephrites. To these belong the Serpentes, Saussurites, Orthoklas, Felsites and green Silicates, the latter being mostly represented by the so-called Mexican chalchihuites, whose mines are located in the "Cerrillos," of South Sta Fé, Mexico. He supposes the chalchihuites to have been substituted for the genuine and revered ancient Nephrites, at an epoch when the latter began to be scarce. Having excluded the Falso-Nephrites, the remainder of the genuine specimens was to be examined and classified, in the historical point of view. An examination then took place, how many of these specimens can be positively proved to have entered from Europe by trade, and how many of them are the products of exhumation from ancient ruins, tumuli or lakes.

The longed-for residuum represented the prehistoric Nephrites. There are about 189 specimens of the latter class. They show a remarkable similarity of shape, having either the form of chisels or of celts, and range from the length of 50^{mm} to 390^{mm}. The Nephrite variety has yielded the small sized specimens; the Jadëites, and Chloromelanites, the larger and compact ones. They are neatly polished and the edges are sharp and intact. None show ornamental carving, at least none of the European specimens. When arranged in mineralogical order, 77 were found to be Nephrites proper, 79 Jadëites and 33 Chloromelanites. Of the 189 specimens discovered, only 10 were taken from Central American localities. Of these, 7 are Jadëites and 3 Chloromelanites. Hence Nephrites proper have not yet been detected in America. As to the local and geographical distribution of these prehistoric relics, the following results were gained: Khotan in Turkestan appears to be their starting point. They cross the Iaxartes and Oxus rivers, pass below the Aral and Caspian Seas, along the Northern Asia Minor shores; bordering upon ancient Troy, they pass to the Peloponnesus, whence they direct their course to Crete, and not touching Egypt, pass from Greece to Italy,¹ whence they are distributed among the Helvetian lakes; thence they branch Northward to follow the course of the Rhine into Belgium, and Westward through Gallia Cisalpina and the Celtibe-

¹ A full report of *Dr. Dom. Lovizato's* recent discoveries of Nephrite, Jadëite and Chloromelanite celts in Calabria, was given in the *Correspondenz-blatt der Deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1880, Ref., page 335.

rian Peninsula. England, Scandinavia, the heart of Germany, Austria and European Russia appear not to be touched by this route of migration.

The same route was taken by the Jaděite specimens, though their starting point was not Khotan. That they also came from the far East was plainly shown from the fact that they were found intermingled with Nephrite specimens as far as Asia Minor. Yet, that they could not come from Turkestan, has from the outset been maintained by mineralogists, on the ground that Jaděite is a mineral foreign to the geognostic structure of Turkestan. Chemically, Jaděite differs to such a degree from Nephrite, that the two varieties could not have grown together within the same structural compass. Ten years of most laborious research, of private travels, of correspondence with consulates, of searching in books of natural history written in all of the Asiatic languages have brought to light at last the home of the Jaděite. The Jaděite mines belong to the King of Burmah, whose dynasty, from time immemorial and entirely unknown to the European trade and scholars, enjoys the riches drawn from the monopoly of selling objects manufactured from this precious green stone. The name of the Province whence it comes is YUNNAN, and the mining district itself lies North of the city of *Bahma*. Foreigners have not as yet reached the locality. Traveling in Burmah is considered as dangerous to foreigners as it is in Turkestan. Yet the knowledge, which Prof. Fischer gained of the fact and the authentic proofs themselves, come from friends, resident for this and other scientific purposes in the Burmese capital. Burmah is the centre of Buddhism. It is a land of cloisters, in which the Buddha monk is trained for his future itinerant and missionary work.

The home of the Chloromelanite, up to the present day, has not been discovered, but the professor has reasons to believe it to be not far from that of the Jaděite.

We have still to consider the ten specimens of Jaděite and Chloromelanite, which are the products of exhumation from American soil. What route they took, remains, of course, a mystery. The scientific diagnosis made of them, agrees to a remarkable degree in identifying them with those assigned to the Burmese mines. A few of them also exhibit the Asiatic celt-form. Prof. Fischer is so cautious as not to say, directly, that they were imported from Burmah into Mexico in prehistoric times. But since the facts elicited by him stand out in bold and rather suggestive relief, we cannot help presuming that he thinks so. He *emphasizes* the fact that neither mines of Jaděite nor Chloromelanite have ever been discovered in America. If any exist the knowledge would have come to the surface. Their existence would not have escaped the notice of the vigilant native, nor of the Spaniards and the modern European dwellers. Should the massive rock still be covered with dense forests, fragments at least of the mineral would have been carried down the rivers in the form of boulders and pebbles. The natives, engaged in the worship of the green stones, would have

detected them and not have resorted to the employment of poor substitutes.

Thus much for Prof. Fischer's research and its results.

Let me now turn your attention to the objects themselves; of which I intend to speak. It can be observed that both stones are almost of the same shade of green color, the unity of the color being interrupted however, here and there, by flakes of a bluish hue. Both stones show the outlines of what in archæology is known by the name of celt, and exhibit on their surface carvings of graceful execution. They appear equal in size, 222^{mm} in length and 80^{mm} in width. Yet it may be noticed that the top of the Humboldt celt is broken off. If restored the length of the celt would probably be 275^{mm}. These are the chief points in which the two stones agree, and yet there are essential points of difference between them. The Humboldt specimen has the full form of a celt, namely that of a wedge. It is biconvex, with a thickness approximating to 34^{mm}. The edge approaches the crescent form. The Leyden specimen, on the contrary, is almost flat and only shows the well known celt-form in its outlines, with an average thickness of 5^{mm}. On closer examination a slight bevel will be noticed from the edges toward the axis, on both surfaces of the plate, exhibiting, therefore, rather a tendency to biconcavity. Allow me to make here a brief comment upon this circumstance. If we desire to make a success of the study of these mysterious stones, and allow them to tell their former history, we must necessarily seize upon the minutest mark they show, discuss it, and try to find an explanation. Let me, at this time, state the fact that by far the greatest number of chalchihuites gathered from the hands of the natives at the time of the conquest, and in the course of the following centuries, have turned out to be Falso-Nephrites. Genuine Nephrites must have been employed by the earliest generations, for they are discovered only in ancient graves, or in the soil at considerable depth, or at the foot of ruined buildings, of which the natives themselves attested that they did not know what kind of people built them. However, their cult, calendar, ceremonies and usages, so they acknowledged, were derived from ancient times. Among their ceremonies, as we learn, the entombing of the deceased with a green chalchihuitl on his tongue was considered a religious duty. A considerable number of green stones must therefore have been annually consumed. These statements together with those of Prof. Fischer, I think are sufficient to enable us to establish the following points. The historic natives used Falso-Nephrites, the prehistoric natives genuine Nephrites, in their sepulchral rites, and the custom, therefore, must have continued during long epochs of time. Now, the Nephrite mineral is foreign to the country. Though we do not know in what way the celts came hither, yet we cannot help considering them as imported. At a certain epoch, this importation must have ceased, and a period have been entered upon when the demand for them could no longer be supplied. The people,



FAC-SIMILE OF THE CARVINGS ON "THE LEYDEN PLATE," A CHALCHIHUITL DISINTERRED IN GUATEMALA,
AND NOW PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM AT LEYDEN.

(Front Side.)

I am not able to explain. I mean the unknown method by which the cuts were made, and also the instrument with which a perfect polish was secured. Nephrites and Jad ites are of exceeding hardness. They hold the sixth place in the record of the mineralogist. It is reported ¹ that a piece of Nephrite of 70 cub. cm., was subjected to a blow from a steel chisel set in an iron cylinder, and from the height of 35cm its fall upon the stone did no injury. On the contrary, the edge of the chisel was broken. Prof. Fischer has been active in consulting experts as to the means by which the workmen of ancient times could shape the celts, and to discover how they succeeded in carving upon the surface as minutely and accurately as if they had worked upon a brick of moist clay. There is an idea prevalent that the sawing of stones was practised by the Mexicans with a string and sand. I am unable to find the authority for the assertion, but I can quote a passage ² from which we learn, that Moctezuma, at the instigation of the sculptors, made war upon Quetzaltepec and Tototepec, which provinces had refused to permit Mexican traders to explore their valuable *sand mines*. In order to obtain a thin slip from the samples for an analysis, the professor had to employ a diamond saw. Prof. von Schlagintweit suggests that the stones were shaped at the quarry itself, while they were still impregnated with the natural moisture of the rock. Should the knowledge of how these stones were shaped and carved ever come to light, the methods employed may prove to have been so simple that our philosophy would not even permit us to dream of them.

I will now proceed to the explanation of the carvings on the Leyden tablet. On whatever part of our globe this tablet might have been exhumed, it must be recognized as of Yucatecan origin. The style of representing men and objects by the Central American artist is typical and unique. On the front of the tablet the figure of a man is represented. He stands clothed in sumptuous array, and in a soldier-like, erect position. His right arm is slightly thrown forward and on the back of his hand he holds a richly adorned vessel from which a flame is bursting forth. His left arm stretches backward and holds on the back of the hand a human head, on the top of which, I recognize the Maya symbol for the *day*, from which also a flame and smoke are

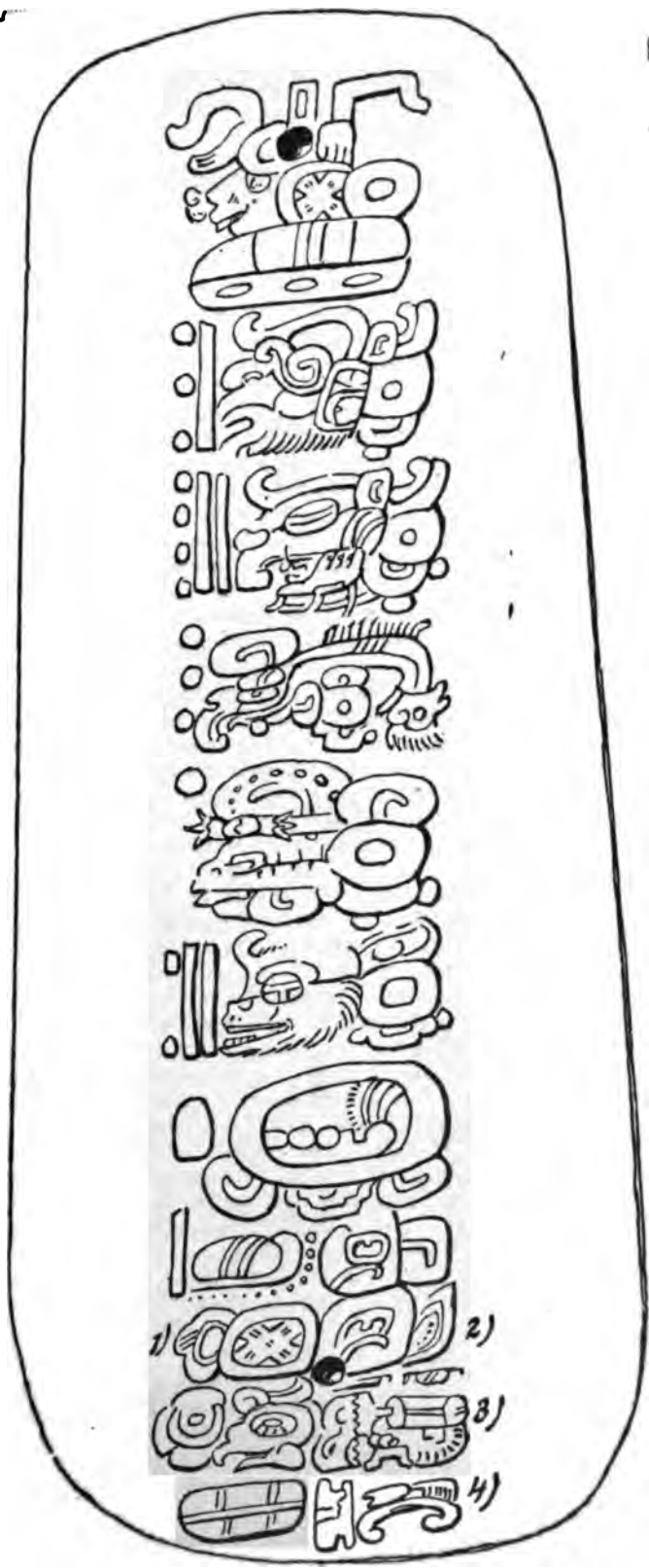
¹ See Fischer, Nephrite and Jad ite, page 294.

² *Diego Duran*, Hist. de las Indias d. l. Nueva Espa a, Vol. I., Cap. LVI., page 442 (Edit. J. F. Ram rez, Mexico, 1867). "The stone-cutters and sculptors of the city of Mexico and Santiago, and of the other provinces, were advised that there was a kind of sand, very proper to work the stones in the province of Quetzaltepec and Tototepec, and also emery for polishing. They gave notice thereof to the King Montezuma and told him of the difficulties they had in obtaining these articles from those countries and the high prices that were asked for them. Montezuma brought the claim before his council and it was determined to send messengers to Tototepec. . . . When the old people and those of rank were looking at the destruction of their town and stronghold, they went to ask for peace and mercy and promised to make themselves tributaries to the king and city of Mexico."



FAC-SIMILE OF THE CARVINGS ON "THE LEYDEN PLATE," A CHALCHIHUITL DISINTERRED IN GUATEMALA,
AND NOW PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM AT LEYDEN.

(Front Side.)



FAC-SIMILE OF THE CARVINGS ON "THE LEYDEN PLATE."
(Reverse Side.)

curling in the air. Undoubtedly our hero is in the act of sacrificing. He speaks or offers a prayer, for we see the symbol of breath coming from his lips. Beneath his chin a small human face adorned with an eagle's head appears. From its position and other characteristics, I infer that the artist meant to indicate by this little head the clasp of a collar. Around the upper body and breast I notice two serpents coiling themselves. On the front and rear of his belt two human heads are fastened. From it a richly adorned scarf hangs downward, and on the side a string of heavy jewels with a tassel upon the end. The man wears sandals, and his feet are crushing the body of another man, who vainly strives with his opened hands to clutch the proud conqueror. Therefore, we have before our eyes the representation, not of a priest, but of a victorious warrior, who, laden with his bloody spoils, appears before his god with offerings of thanksgiving.

The reverse of the tablet bears a record. We might suppose this record to contain a narrative of the deeds performed by our hero, but this would be entirely opposed to the Central American method of picture-writing as well as sculpturing. The picture should tell its own story; and in the present case, the man through the peculiarity of his surroundings, his attitude and emblems, is understood to plainly suggest all that we would explain by means of an inscription. As far as my experience has taught me, a record, attached to a special carving or mural sculpture, is a compound of very distinct and always returning elements. They are either cuts of living or dead men, heads of idols in grotesque human or animal form or sacrificial vessels and offerings, intermixed with calendar symbols, mainly those assigned to days. I hope at some future time, when prepared with an explanation of the Palenque slabs, I shall be able to give full proof for my assertion.

The record of the Leyden tablet is arranged in the form of a perpendicular column. Let us divide it in two portions. The one is simply chronological, the other of a mixed character. The first exhibits five symbols, each representing a certain calendar day. At the top, however, there is a picture, which does not belong to this class of symbols. It is that of a censor or brasier crowned with various emblems and the head of a man speaking. The Central Americans used two kinds of censers. One so formed as to be carried in the hand, and another which was not movable. It stood firm in the centre of the Temple and was about three feet in height. Of this latter class is the one engraved at the top of the column. It is very imperfectly drawn. However,

CUT 4.

(Frontispiece.)



(Page 345.)

from the two illustrations (Cut 4), which are taken from the Palenque slabs (see J. Lloyd Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, Vol. II., frontispiece, and page 345), and on each of which a brasier appears placed at the head of the record, you will

PALENQUE BRASIER.

be able to form a better conception of how it would appear, if the carver had done his work with a little more accuracy. In these cuts we may distinguish the brasier, the cover with openings for the admission of air, and three feet to support the vessel. On a day of important religious ceremonies, the worshippers approached the holy vessel in procession, each one in turn throwing balls of copal and strips of rubber and paper through the openings upon the glowing embers.¹

The five symbols that follow, are as I have said, representations of five calendar days of which I am able only to recognize the last, which shows the head of an ape, so clearly, that I think it was meant for the day Ape or *batz*. We know the symbols of the Maya days from Bishop Landa's works and illustrations. The same recur in the Dresden Codex and in that of Tró. But as these specimens are only outline drawings and of minute size, they fail to render the original image. The sculptors on the contrary, had more time and space at their disposal, and the importance of their work gave them the opportunity of elaborating the original size of the image with accuracy. These grotesque symbols are carved with more or less variations, upon the

¹ *Motolinia* (Fray Toribio de Paredes), Hist. d. l. Indios d. l. Nueva España, Tratado 1, IV., edit. Icazbalceta, p. 50: "These Indians always took care to provide their temples with abundance of wood. For in the yards and halls of their abominable worship, and before the altars of their idols, they kept burning certain brasiers of different form, and a few of them of very large size, during the whole day and night. *Torquemada* (Fr. Juan de), Monarquía Indiana, Vol. II., Lib. VIII., Cap. 9: "In these temples and before the altars, brasiers were standing, some of a circular, some of a square form. They were made of mortar, about three quarters of a yard high, and were kept burning day and night. Each hall and temple room had brasiers of its own, so that the priests and their attendants when they went to sacrifice, not only found material for light and fire, but also entered a warm room. *Acosta* (Joseph de), Hist. nat. y moral de Indias, Sevilla, 1590, Lib. V., Cap. 14: "It was the perpetual office of the priests to burn incense to the idols, which was performed four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset and midnight. At this hour all the dignitaries of the temple must rise, and instead of tolling a bell, a kind of trumpet or large instrument was sounded, accompanied by flutes, which gave forth long and repeated melancholy tones. After this, the one who was at service that week stepped in, robed in a white *dalmatica*, censer in hand, which he then filled with embers taken from the large brasier, which was kept burning perpetually, before the altar. In the other hand he carried a pouch, filled with incense, which he threw into the censer; which done, he entered the room in which the idol stood and incensed it with marks of great reverence. Then he took a cloth and cleansed the altar as well as the curtains." *Landa* (Diego de) Relación d. l. cosas de Yucatan, ed. B. de Bourbourg, Paris, 1864, page 281: "they incensed the idols, the priest being the first to throw his own incense into the brasier. He was followed by all the attendants, and the chiefs being all of them placed according to their rank, stepped forth in order to receive from the hand of the priest above the balls of copal, which were given and received with as much gravity and devotion, as if they were holy relics. Then one after the other threw them gently into the brasier, and waited until they were entirely consumed."

Palenque, the Copan and the Ocoingo slabs, and thus contribute to confirm the frequently noticed uniformity of the calendar system among the different Maya tribes. To those who are not specialists in the matter, and who wish to be informed on what ground I recognize these symbols to be calendar days, let me here state that they are characterized by the well known symbols for numeration, which are always found standing at the left hand of the days' symbols. The staff standing upright (Maya, *paiché*) means the number 5, each of the circles (Maya, *thunn*), that of 1. Thus we have here the symbols for the eighth, the fourteenth, the third, the first and the twelfth day.

The second portion displays a group of objects which are of a mixed character. I am able to identify only a few of them. Those numbered 1), 2), 3), 4), appear to me to represent the symbol for *sun* or *day*, a sacrificial knife, a cylinder string and string of chalchihuites and a flower.

To place the sequel of the calendar days at the top of the record, and to follow by four or five rows representing objects of a different nature, seems to have been usual with the Maya artists. The Dresden and the Tró Codex show the same arrangement.

Viewing the carvings of the Leyden plate as a whole, we may be fairly entitled to assume that they were intended to commemorate the victorious deeds of some Yucatecan chieftain, who on the days inscribed, and in observance of the ritual requirements, had gone to the Temple to offer sacrifice and thanksgiving to his Gods.

Let us now turn to the carvings found upon the Humboldt celt. They, fortunately, do not bear the odd features of enigmatical symbols. They speak the intelligible language of object-drawing, and will for other reasons attract your interest.

I will begin with those engraved upon the broad and lower end of the celt. The first object we meet, upon the left of the group, no doubt represents the hand-ballista, of the natives. The two portions of which the instrument consists are clearly delineated, the sliding board and the javelin. I am not aware that any specimen of the ancient Central American ballista has been preserved. Yet it is still in use with certain tribes of the Malayan and the Polynesian archipelago,¹ on the coast of Patagonia, in the Aleutian group, and in islands belonging to the Pacific Ocean. No specimen of it, however, has ever been discovered in the hands of the aborigines on the Atlantic side of our continent; a circumstance which I think is worth noticing. Oviedo² found

¹ See O. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, 2^{te} Aufl. page 351, die Australier. He quotes: Voyage of H. M. S. Fly, vol. I., page 112, Langsdorf's Reise um die Welt, Band II., page 40; David Cranz, Historie von Grönland, Band I., page 194; Tylor, Anfänge der Cultur, Band I., S. 67.

² Oviedo (Gonz. Fernández de) Hist. Gen. y Nat. d. l. Indies, Liber XXIX., Cap. 26, p. 127. "In some sections of the country (Cueva) the Indians are of bellicose disposition, in others they are not. They never use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, and with arrow-like staffs, which are thrown from an *estorica*, which is a well



FAC-SIMILE OF THE CARVINGS ON THE HUMBOLDT CELT, A CHALCHIHUITL PRESERVED IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM.

the hand-ballista in 1519 among the Cueva Indians (Western shore of the Darien-Veragua Isthmus), and gives a description of how it was handled and an illustration, which I have reproduced (see Cut 5.) It

CUT 5.



HAND-BALLISTA OF OVIEDO.

shows the shuttle-board and the slide upon which the javelin was laid, in order that it might keep in a straight course when thrown. The board was held, resting on the palm of the hand, and on the left side was a ring, through which the second finger passed in order to retain the shuttle-board more firmly in the hand. This ring is very clearly represented on the ballista of our celt, and that the point of the javelin was not of metal but of stone can fairly be inferred from the flaked form. Oviedo gives the instrument the name of *estorica*, a word which I have vainly sought for in the dictionaries of the Spanish language. Possibly this word is only the corrupted form of the corresponding Cueva term. Nor was I able to find this expression for it in the Spanish, Nahuatl or Maya languages. The English give it the name of *throwing-stick*, the Germans *wurfbrett*, and the French *chiroballiste*. You can readily imagine the astonishment of the natives, when they perceived the Spaniards armed with the cross-bow, and realized that, though using the *estorica* and bow and arrow from time immemorial, still no one of them had been clever enough to pass the bow through the *estorica* and make of the two joined together, the cross-bow. Allow me here to ask the question: At what period did the cross-bow come into use with European soldiers? And among what tribe or nation was the *chiroballista* found?

wrought wooden instrument, and which remains in their hand when the staff or dart is hurled. Like good marksmen, they knew how to strike their mark at any distance, at the right and the left and in a straight direction. Some of these staffs, when in the air, give a whistling sound, for at their ends something like a pigeon-holed ball is attached, which when the air with violence passes through the holes, produces a whistling noise. But they would practice only on some festival occasion, in order to parade their dexterity, and never when they are on the warpath, because the enemy would then be advised by the sound. If notwithstanding they do this, and throw the whistling dart into their adversary's camp, and mostly at night, it is to display their utter contempt."

The second object shows the outlines of a harpoon. It is recognizable as well by its barb as by the ear, which, fastened to a shaft holds the hempen strap, by which the fish, the turtle or even the enemy, when struck, is hauled in by the man who hurled the powerful instrument. The shaft is not straight, but shows in the middle a slight curve. The practical harpooner can give a better account than is possible for me, of the usefulness of this device. It may have produced either a better aim or an easier hauling in. No reasons are apparent why this deviation from the straight line should be attributed to the uncertain hand of the carver. Wherever we look upon his work, it shows a full control of his hand and instrument.

In the third object I recognize the representation of a lasso, yet not that of the "*lazo de gaza*" (sling or loop), but rather the "*lazo de bolas*" (balls). It appears as faithfully copied from nature as it could possibly be done on stone. The lasso is represented in the main as it is to-day, and as every hunter and herdsman keeps it hanging from the "*solera*" of his hut, tied up, but ready for an emergency. The left and smaller portion of the picture gives the shorter coil of the lasso which is held in the left hand. The larger coil is that which before it is thrown is twirled over the head. When thrown from the hand, it unrolls in the air to land upon the head or body of the game, either entangling it or stunning it by the stroke of the stone ball, fastened at the end. The ball is fastened, as the picture clearly shows, by drilling the ball and passing the end of the lasso through it.¹

¹ The subject of the *estorica* was discussed by Mr. Ad. F. Bandelier, in *Art of War and Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*, Tenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, 1877, page 105, note 37. The author quotes three Mexican chroniclers, Torquemada, Mendieta and Duran, and after having analyzed the texts of the respective passages, arrives at the very correct conclusion, that the instruments of war described therein, cannot be interpreted to mean *ballestas*, and that they evidently refer to *javelins*, thrown by the hand and then drawn back by means of a strap fastened to the handle. The same author also refers to Oviedo's text on the *estorica*, that was found with the Cueva Indians on the Darien Isthmus. The reader, however, is left in the dark, whether or not the heterogeneous stock of Indians on the Anahuac plateau had been met armed with this weapon. It is surprising indeed, that no express notice of the *estorica* was taken by the chroniclers, and especially that Cortés and Bernal Diaz, two experts in the Mexican warfare and careful reporters, passed in absolute silence over the peculiar contrivance, which they needs must have seen in the hands of their opponents, and which for various reasons, could not have failed to attract their attention. But the existence of the *estorica* and its use by the Indians in Mexico is plainly stated in the account of "*the Anonymous Conqueror*," see Col. de Doc. Icazbalceta, vol. I., page 373, "*sus armas ofensivas son arco y flechas, y dardos que tiran de una ballesta, hecha de otro palo; (and javelins, which they hurl from a ballista, made of another piece of wood).*" I was struck to find in the ancient Italian version of this report the word *mangano*, as I expected, instead of *ballesta*. *Mangano* has every appearance of having been the original and technical term for *Chiroballista*. How far back, I ask, can *mangano* be traced in the Italian language?

Beneath the picture of the lasso is the representation of three cudgels or war clubs. They are identical with those used by the Mexican Nahoas.

I cannot certainly decide what was intended by the fifth object, though I think it is a variety of the hand ballista.

Respecting the sixth object I think I am not deceived in saying it was designed to represent an oar. The accompanying cut is taken from the Dresden Codex and will explain my grounds better than any words of mine. (See Cut 6.)

When carving this little catalogue of instruments of war and sport, it would be surprising if the Maya artist had been unmindful of the great national game, which was celebrated on solemn occasions and in which the leaders of the tribes alone were allowed to take part. I refer to the game played in the *Tlachco*, a kind of Tennis Court. This building consisted of two thick walls, extending to a considerable distance and exactly opposite to each other. At the height of twenty feet from the ground, two massive stone rings were fixed into the walls; through these rings the contestants strove to throw a rubber ball, nearly as large as the opening in the ring. A picture of the building and of the stone rings can be seen in J. L. Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, Vol. II., page 303, which I will not reproduce. Now, looking at the head of the lasso, I suspect that the artist wished the rubber ball to find a place in his collection. Had they been drawn, perforated, as is the one at the end of the lasso, we would be apt to take them for "*holas*" in reserve. But since they are not, they must needs mean something akin to the group, and I trust I have not gone too far astray in my interpretation.

Above these three balls two human arms are represented in a folded position. The left (upper) arm is bandaged, whilst the forefinger of the right hand of the other arm is pointing to the spot and even touching the bandage. I shall revert to this subject when giving the explanation of the carvings as a whole.

At the head of this picture another group is apparent, a hand with outstretched fingers. No comment upon it is needed. But the other objects require an explanation, and in order to get at their meaning let me refer to what I have said about the sacrificial ceremony before the brasier in the Temple. In the three balls I incline to recognize the copal or incense balls, which each of the worshippers threw into the brasier. If this interpretation is accepted, we can easily see that the object on which the balls reposed was meant for the

CUT 6.



CANOE AND OAR.
From Dresden Codex.

brasier itself. The outlines are the same as those of the large brasier, represented in Cut 4, save that the artist has not taken especial care in the delineation of the details. The other three comblike objects which surround the brasier appear to be imperfect representations of those lateral shields standing at the sides of the Palenque brasier, the meaning of which I am yet unable to fathom.

We come now to the last and most conspicuous object carved on the celt. It represents that portion of the dress of the Yucatecan chief, which, in addition to the head-dress or the plumed helmet, was considered to be the emblem of his privileged rank. It is the ornamental scarf (*matli*) which with the noblemen reached as far as the short tunic, with noblewomen and priestesses as far as the gown, viz. to the ankles. I trust that you will accept this explanation, after looking at the cut of the Leyden celt, where you will find the chieftain adorned with a similar scarf. You will find it also on all the monolithic statues of Copan, of which Stephens in Vol. I., page 135-159, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, has given so faithful pictures. The scarf shows always on its front a cross, drawn within a circle. The Copan statues show it also. On our celt we have the scarf displayed in its freshness, just from the hands of the manufacturer. It appears spread out. Therefore the lateral fringes do not hang downward. It shows the girdle, which is possibly a succession of golden clasps, with the showy buckle in the middle. It stretches from the neck over the breast.

This is as much as I am able to understand of the entaglios of the Humboldt celt, taking for my guidance comparison with known objects. Should you desire me to write an explanatory legend of the whole of this carved text, it could be expressed in the following language: The man, in whose tomb the sacred stone was laid, stood high in rank and personal achievements. He never failed to appear before his gods to *burn the incense on the temple's brasier*. He *caused his arms to bleed* and sacrificed his blood by sprinkling it in the glowing embers. When he entered the *tlachco* court, his was the victory. Like darts, his balls of *hule* were flying through the ring. He had no equal in bringing to the ground his foe by the *tlacochilli*, and when he seized the *oar* and went upon the river, he was certain to bring home the sweet turtle quivering on the *barb of his harpoon*. Great was the strength of his arms; the heavy *cudgel* was the toy of his youth. There was no deer so distant nor its legs so fleet, that his eyes could not spy or his *lasso* reach.

Permit me to close this paper with a few brief considerations.

What purposes was the Humboldt celt and all the others of its kind destined to serve? The theory that it was the prehistoric war weapon *par excellence*, fortunately, has been disposed of, together — I beg leave to say — with its ingenious originator, the Antiquary. From holes bored at the top of these celts, it was inferred that they were suspended from the neck as badges of authority, and the name, *ceremonial celts*,

has come into use with the Germans, who most unfortunately have translated it with *prachtdell*. Other students designate the celt as an ancient instrument for splitting, chiselling, polishing, flaying and similar domestic work. There is evidently more common sense in this explanation than in the former, and I am willing to accept it, provided it shall be confined to the large number of celt specimens, which are of lesser dimensions than the Humboldt celt and its particular associates. The multiform variations, in which those smaller specimens appear, indeed, offer strong testimony to their usefulness in man's more primitive stages of industry. But, if I look at our strong, massive specimen and consider that there exist still others of its kind, and even of a much larger size, I feel positively at a loss for a suitable explanation and still more at a loss to state the special work these large thick celts were able to perform. They lack just the quality which would make them an implement or tool. They are not handy.

I must leave you with the riddle still unsolved. However, I trust, some one will come with clearer eyes than mine, and teach us what idea presided in the prehistoric mind, when shaping the stone in the ingenious and yet the simple form and figure of a wedge, the father of all tools existing.

NOTE.—I feel it my special duty to express my warmest thanks to Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., of Worcester, Mass., for the kindness he has shown me in revising the English of my manuscript, and seeing the essay through the press.

PH. V.

NEW YORK, August 1, 1881.

Horace Wall
VOL. I.

NEW SERIES.

PART

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1881.



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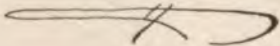
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NOTE.

This publication completes the first volume of the new series of the Proceedings, with the exception of the title-page and index, which are being prepared, and will be forwarded to the members as soon as possible.



S. H. Haven


PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 22ND, 1884, AT THE HOUSE OF
THE SOCIETY, 25 WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALMONS, LL.D., is in the
chair.

The *minutes* of the last meeting were read and approved.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALL, D.D., read the report of the
Council.

EDMUND M. HARTON, Esq., *Secretary*, and
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., *Treasurer*, submitted their annual
reports, which, together with that of Mr. Hall, were
accepted as constituting the whole report of the Council,
and referred to the committee of publication.

On seconding the motion to refer the report of the
Council to the Publishing Committee, *Francis Thomas*,
LL.D., said:

I desire to say a single word, Mr. President, by way of
response, if nothing more, to one portion of the annual
report of the Council. I refer, Sir, to the tribute paid to
our late distinguished Librarian. Perhaps enough has
already been said, and I can hardly expect much to add
anything of interest to the discriminating standards which have
just been read.

A feeling of sadness sometimes comes over me at these
annual gatherings, occasioned by the absence from time to
time of the familiar forms and faces we have been ac-
customed to meet here. One by one they vanish, and the

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21ST, 1881, AT THE HALL OF
THE SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., in the
chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., read the report of the
Council.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Assistant-Librarian, and
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their semi-annual
reports, which, together with that of Dr. HALE, were
accepted as constituting the whole report of the Council,
and referred to the committee of publication.

On seconding the motion to refer the report of the
Council to the Publishing Committee, CHARLES DEANE,
LL.D., said :

I desire to say a single word, Mr. PRESIDENT, by way of
response, if nothing more, to one portion of the admirable
report of the Council. I refer, Sir, to the tribute paid to
our late distinguished Librarian. Perhaps enough has
already been said, and I can hardly expect myself to add
anything of interest to the discriminating sketch which has
just been read.

A feeling of sadness sometimes comes over me at these
annual gatherings, occasioned by the absence from time to
time of the familiar forms and faces we have been accus-
tomed to meet here. One by one they vanish, and the

places that knew them know them no more. It is now more than twenty-five years since I first began to attend these annual meetings at Worcester, having been elected a member here thirty years ago this day; and the "Boston members," including Mr. FOLSOM, Mr. LIVERMORE, Mr. FROTHINGHAM, and Dr. SHURTLEFF, all of whom, alas! have passed on, always regarded the 21st of October as a red-letter day in their calendar, and came up hither as on a sacred pilgrimage. For a number of years we always met here and received a cordial welcome from the venerable Governor LINCOLN, Judge BARTON, Judge CHAPIN, Judge THOMAS, and others whom I need not name. One by one these revered members have disappeared, their names stricken from our living roll, and their places filled by others. And now, Sir, the name of Mr. HAVEN is added to the list of the departed.

In the death of Mr. HAVEN this society has lost one who has been immediately identified with its history for over forty years. To the members, personally, certainly to many of us, his loss is irreparable. Of his character as a man, of his admirable qualities of mind and heart, of his large acquirements as a general scholar, and of his special accomplishments as an antiquary and historian, of his life-service here in interpreting to others the treasures of this library,—of all this you well know, Mr. President, and it has all been told to us in the eloquent tribute to which the society has just listened.

I have spoken of Mr. HAVEN as an antiquary. But he was not merely an antiquary—I have also said that he was an historian. The late Joseph Hunter, the distinguished functionary of the rolls office, somewhere makes a distinction—perhaps a fanciful one—between the antiquary and the historian. The antiquary, he says, picks up the small facts of history, the fragments of truth, he gleans in the by-ways of the past. Mr. HAVEN did more than this; he knew how to deal with his facts, however small, after

having found them, and to give them their proper place in history.

With his well known accomplishments it well might be asked, how he could be content, with a small pecuniary compensation, to devote his life to the quiet work of this library? Other scholars, all over the land, devote their lives to literary or historical pursuits, but they write books and put their names to them and become famous. But Mr. HAVEN was content to give his life and work here, to write charming reports for the society as its librarian, full of wit and wisdom, but he rarely wrote books and put his name upon their title-pages. His tastes were simple, and he loved the retirement which he here found. He had little of that kind of ambition which is said to be the last infirmity of noble minds.

I first became acquainted with Mr. HAVEN a little more than thirty years ago, when I met him by appointment at the house of our mutual friend, Mr. LIVERMORE, in Cambridge. The Antiquarian Society had just then published the first part of the third volume of their Transactions, containing the Records of the Massachusetts Company, which had been annotated by Mr. HAVEN, and prefaced by an elaborate history of the rise of the Company; and this book formed largely the subject of our conversation at that interview. Subsequently he and I had a correspondence growing out of some differences of opinion that had arisen about the records; one question being, as to whether Prince, the annalist, had in his possession and used that part of the original records of the Massachusetts Company, now missing, between the 19th of March, and the 30th of April, 1629. The discovery, a few years later, of an early copy of these records, in the possession of Col. Aspinwall, supplying these deficiencies, settled the question, that Prince had the portion of the original records now missing.

This society had formed the very laudable purpose of printing the first volume of the Massachusetts Colony

Records, which was fast going to destruction, and this portion of a volume of Transactions was the first fruit of that resolve, and embraced that part of the Records kept in England, previous to the Winthrop emigration. The government of the Commonwealth wisely deciding, a few years later, to print all the Records of the Colony, the Antiquarian Society relinquished the further prosecution of the work. This was the first departure of the society, in their Transactions, from the strict Archæological department to which they had hitherto confined themselves. In the report of the Council for October, 1849, which I think could have come from no other pen than that of Mr. HAVEN, the writer refers to "the recent undertaking of the society in a new direction, indicating a change in the sphere of its operations, which may possibly become more marked hereafter." And the reasons given for this departure are that "the field which the Antiquarian Society at its outset found almost unoccupied, is now filled with fellow-laborers, who are likely, not only to anticipate its operations, but to divert from its collections a large share of the relics of the past, and other materials of history, which would else have been entrusted to its keeping."

Mr. HAVEN, however, never lost his love for archæological studies, and in 1855 he furnished as one of the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," a volume of 168 pp. in folio, on the "Archæology of the United States;" an elaborate work giving a history of investigations, and their results, down to the time he wrote. And no one welcomed more gratefully than he the return of the society, so to speak, to the objects of its first love, through the efficient labors of Mr. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., to whose work he gave every encouragement.

Mr. HAVEN's editorial labors are seen in every volume of the Society's Transactions published since he became connected with this institution; and his contributions to the Proceedings have already been referred to.

Mr. HAVEN's health was not always good. During the last fifteen years he was sometimes quite feeble. At the meeting of the society in April, 1866, he was chosen with myself a delegate to the Archæological Congress to be held in Antwerp, in the following August. Dr. ANDREW P. PEABODY, who had already contemplated a visit to Europe, was subsequently added to the commission. We sailed on the 6th of June for Liverpool, and passed many most agreeable weeks in England and Scotland; and Mr. HAVEN, though far from well, was able to enjoy much. In London, the British Museum and the Public Record Office offered many attractions for the scholar and antiquary searching for materials to illustrate American History. In the Record Office we examined the manuscript records of the Council for New England, a copy of which Mr. HAVEN subsequently procured to be made, at the expense of the President of the society, for the Proceedings.

Under the auspices of Lord Houghton, whom we met in London, we visited Austerfield and Scrooby, associated with the early history of Bradford and Brewster and Robinson, before their emigration to Holland; previous to which we had on our way visited Boston, in Lincolnshire, where preached the celebrated John Cotton, in the equally celebrated St. Botolph's Church. Mr. HAVEN, in his quiet way, enjoyed everything; and the visit to Scotland, which followed, was one of unalloyed satisfaction. Owing to the presence of the cholera at Antwerp the Archæological Congress was postponed for one year; but we proceeded to the continent, visiting Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. Mr. HAVEN resolved to spend the winter in Europe for the benefit of his health, and I left him at Geneva. He returned in the following spring much invigorated and ready for his accustomed duties.

A few years later, during an inclement spring, Mr. HAVEN felt obliged to seek a warmer climate, and he urged me to accompany him to the South. We visited Washing-

ton, Richmond, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, and Augusta, returning by way of Columbia. It was in the days of what were called the "Carpet-bag" governments at the South, and negro legislation; and we heard and saw a good deal that was new to us in that transition state of society which existed there after the War of the Rebellion.

The last meeting of the society that Mr. HAVEN attended was the annual meeting of last year. He arose from a bed of sickness to be present and make his report, which he was too feeble to write out at length, and he read only from his notes. During the year he had alternations of strength and weakness, but gradually failed. The last time I saw him was at his home on the 2d of July. He was very feeble, but cheerful and resigned, and I could not but realize how true it was that

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate
Is privileged beyond the common walk
Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of Heaven."

While sitting by his side the dreadful news came to us that the President had been shot.

Mr. HAVEN passed away on the fifth of September, having taken his accustomed drive two days before his death.

With reference to that portion of the report of the Council relating to Yorktown, Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., expressed the hope that the Committee of Publication would see that it was printed in full with notes and authorities, as constituting the contribution of the society to the history of that great surrender.

Hon. E. B. STODDARD and Dr. S. A. GREEN having been appointed a committee to receive and report upon the ballots for President, reported that all the ballots were for Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, LL.D., who accepted the office.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq., GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D., and CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., were appointed a committee to report a list of officers for the ensuing year. They

reported the following gentlemen who were, by ballot, unanimously elected :

Vice-Presidents :

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.
HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Washington.

Council :

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.
REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.
SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., of Worcester.
HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, of Worcester.
REV. EDWARD H. HALL, of Worcester.
HON. DWIGHT FOSTER, LL.D., of Boston.
REV. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
HON. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, LL.D., of Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence :

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence :

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary :

COL. JOHN D. WASHBURN, of Worcester.

Treasurer :

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication :

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
REV. EDWARD H. HALL, of Worcester.

Auditors:

HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, Esq., of Worcester.

The Recording Secretary communicated to the society the recommendations of the Council of the following gentlemen for membership in the society :

Professor HEINRICH FISCHER, of Freiberg, Baden.

Professor FRANCIS A. MARCH, of Easton, Pa.

Señor JOAQUIN HÜBBE, of Mèrida, Yucatan.

EDWARD ISAIAH THOMAS, Esq., of Brookline.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Esq., of Nahant.

A separate ballot being taken on each name, all these gentlemen were unanimously chosen to membership.

HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH reported for the action of the society a new draft of By-Laws, with the recommendation of the Council that they be adopted by the society, and they were so adopted, and now constitute the "By-Laws of the American Antiquarian Society."

HON. HAMILTON B. STAPLES read a paper on the names of the States of the American Union, which, on motion of Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., was referred to the Committee of Publication with the thanks of the society.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., exhibited a bone found in Concord, Massachusetts, and read a memorandum on the subject, and the subject, with the accompanying letter, was, by the suggestion of the President, referred to the Committee of Publication, after some brief remarks by RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D.

Mr. HOAR also read a paper on the New England ancestry of the late President Garfield. On motion of Hon. ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, LL.D., the paper was referred to the Committee of Publication with the thanks of the society.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN read extracts from a paper by Professor Herbert B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on the subject of Tithing-Men.

Professor HENRY W. HAYNES presented (omitting the reading owing to the lateness of the hour) a paper on the subject of the "True Site of the Seven Cities of Cibola visited by Coronado in 1540."

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., read a statement referring to a letter which he had received from our associate, Professor JOHN T. SHORT, of Columbus, Ohio, announcing the existence of remarkable tumuli, sculptures and statues in the United States of Columbia, South America, similar in character to those of Palenque and Uxmal.

The society voted its thanks to Messrs. ADAMS, HAYNES and SALISBURY, requesting that copies of their papers be placed in the hands of the Publication Committee to be printed; and also that Mr. SALISBURY should visit the locality of these recent discoveries, and report in full at the next meeting.

The meeting was then dissolved.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE council meets the society at a moment when we have sustained a most serious loss. For more than forty years the active work of the society has been led, — and admirably well led, — by the distinguished scholar whose death we mourn together to-day. For he has made it his duty, not simply to be the custodian of our books as our librarian, but to quicken the antiquarian work of the society in every direction. And we all know that the increased range of the effort of the society and whatever reputation it may have earned in half a century are very largely due to him.

Dr. Haven may be said to have inherited his taste for historical study, — his honored father, whose name he bore, having led his way in his interest in the local history of his birthplace. At the present moment — when the old Massachusetts towns are celebrating the end of a quarter millenium since their history — it is interesting to remember that our friend prepared his first important historical work as early as the year 1836, on the occasion of the second centennial of Dedham. Any man might be proud of this work of a young man. It shews the care in the use of original memoranda, it shews as well the comprehensiveness of view, and the faculty, so rare but so necessary, of historical imagination, which appear in all his historical work afterwards. To know the fact, even in the pettiest detail should be the aim of the true historian. But, if the knowledge of the detail fret him and hamper him, so that he cannot take a large view of the position and occasion, he ceases to be a true historian. Dr. Haven, from the beginning, shewed the rare union of the two essential qualities.

He was tireless in research. He was absolutely judicial in weighing authorities. He even overcame the last infirmity of historians, and did not over-estimate an authority because it happened to be his own discovery, — because he happened to have exhumed it from dust and ashes where it was deservedly forgotten. On the other hand, — he had the vivid imagination by which he could put himself in the place of the actors whom he described, — and a certain philosophical habit of tracing events back to their origins and forward to their consequences, which compelled him to arrange his details with fit perspective and in organic system. Under his touch, therefore, the driest bones from the documents took their fit places and began to walk again. There is no member of the society but has listened with delight to hear him thus array in costume, color and even in motion, a set of details which seemed hopelessly dry and dead.

It speaks well for the foresight and good sense of our predecessors, then the council of this society, that they called to the post of Librarian a young man, personally a stranger to most of them, from another part of the commonwealth, after the resignation of Hon. Maturin L. Fisher. Mr. Haven was at that time residing in Lowell, where he had entered on the practice of the law. He was still a young man, but, from the Massachusetts Reports, where cases argued by him are reported, it appears that he had already come into the public work of the profession. His reputation as an historian already justified the selection, and his daily work in the office gave new reason for gratitude that it had been made. Our younger members must be taught that it was in no such elegant edifice as we meet in, and with no such generous appliances for study as surround us, that he entered upon his duties. He was the only officer of the society in regular attendance, and every duty of administration devolved largely upon him. Then, as ever since, the Worcester members of the society were

glad to render large personal assistance in its work. The catalogue owes much to the personal care of Dr. John Park, for instance. But the man to be always found in the library, to be consulted on every point, from the shape of a flint arrow-head round to the construction of the clauses of a charter, was the Librarian, Mr. Haven.

In the immediate duties of that post Mr. Haven brought to bear that wonderful memory, even for trifles, which is the first accomplishment of a great historian. The same precision which gives to a true historian the true local color for every generation he describes, which does not use an arquebuse a year too early nor a petronel a year too late in narrative, enables such a librarian to tell whether Increase Mather's sermon on the death of Eliakim Bunt is in the library or not, and if not, whether it is anywhere, and if anywhere, how it is to be sought for. Miss Edgeworth asks the question, whether one would prefer to know everything once and take his chance for remembering it, or to remember always what one had once learned? Mr. Haven had the latter gift, and, as his assiduous study brought him eventually almost to enjoy the other,—as what he did not know was hardly worth knowing—his resource and helpfulness in a library are really indescribable to those who have not tested them.

He had also the higher gift for a librarian, which is as rare. This is a moral gift, and not merely an intellectual faculty. He loved to see his treasures used. He did not hide them in a napkin. He was sincerely glad when a new investigator appeared, and it did not seem to matter that the man was crude in method, rough in manner or ignorant as a hound. Mr. Haven was there to help him in all such things. That was, according to his theory, what a librarian was for. To persons who do not know the genius and practice of his administration, the story would be a romance. People would not believe how many raw enquirers, who came into our library ignorant of the first

principles of literary research, have since rendered very important service to American history. Mr. Burritt, the linguist, has testified to the value of this assistance in the fragment which records his own biography.¹ And in the very highest seat of our historians Dr. Palfrey has made the following acknowledgment of such service :

“To no one am I indebted for more light than to that eminent archaeologist, Mr. Samuel Foster Haven, of Worcester. Especially have I been aided by him in elaborating the view, presented in these pages, of the origin and purposes of the Company of Massachusetts Bay. So long ago as the year 1837,² as well as at different times since, I published my thoughts respecting the political relations of some of those early movements of the government of Massachusetts, which have generally been ascribed to religious bigotry. I have been greatly assisted in maturing them by Mr. Haven’s treatise on the Massachusetts Company, in the third volume of the ‘Collections of the American Antiquarian Society,’ and not less by private correspondence with which he has honored me.”

As a student of original history of this country, Mr. Haven was never led away by fancies, but he was far too

¹Mr. Burritt uses these words: “In this I was disappointed; and, while revolving in my mind what step next to take, I accidentally heard of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester. I immediately bent my steps towards this place. I visited the hall of the American Antiquarian Society, and found there, to my infinite gratification, such a collection of ancient, modern, and Oriental languages, as I never before conceived to be collected in one place; and, Sir, you may imagine with what sentiments of gratitude I was affected, when, upon evincing a desire to examine some of these rich and rare works, I was kindly invited to an unlimited participation in all the benefits of this noble institution. Availing myself of the kindness of the directors, I spend about three hours, daily, at the hall, which, with an hour at noon and about three in the evening, make up the portion of the day which I appropriate to my studies, the rest being occupied in arduous manual labor. Through the facilities afforded by this institution, I have been able to add so much to my previous acquaintance with the ancient, modern, and Oriental languages, as to be able to read upward of fifty of them, with more or less facility.”

²North American Review, XLVI. 568 *et seq.*

wise to scorn a theory or suggestion either because it was new or because it traversed theories held orthodox. To transfer a phrase from geological science to the sciences of prehistoric inquiry, he believed more in the action of present causes than he did in those convenient cataclysms which bold speculators invent to account either for a mound or a chisel which seems to them otherwise inexplicable. But here again his admirable knowledge of detail came to his assistance in comprehensive study. Without pretending to a working knowledge of the fifty-three Indian dialects of which our second volume gives the vocabularies, it is fair to say that he well understood the genius of each of the nine races to which those various languages belonged. He knew what could be expected of an Athapescan and what could not be expected of an Algonquin. He had in his own mind a well conceived theory of the successive movements and general progress of the several American races; which will be found illustrated, on various sides, in his learned study published by the Smithsonian Institution, and in many of his essays which have been printed in our own Proceedings.

The passage which has been read from Dr. Palfrey, just alludes to his diligent research into that intricate web-work of our New England history which owes to him its elucidation. The task was a very difficult one and appeared a thankless one. A series of charters and other titles, scarcely understood, in most cases, by those who granted them, were to be so arranged and set in order, as to throw mutual light on each other. The rise, the progress, and the gasping decline of the corporations which owed their being to some of these charters, and which issued others, were to be studied. It is safe to say that none of our early historians came to any adequate understanding of the relation of these documents to each other, hardly, indeed to any correct knowledge of the affinities or of the jealousies of the several companies. To Mr. Haven's intelligent

interest in the subject the publication by the society of the first part of the Massachusetts Records is due. His introduction to that publication is the first of a series of his papers, which have in succession, thrown a flood of light on the most difficult parts of our early history. And the series of biographies, marvellously complete, though so difficult, of the first members of the Massachusetts Company, is a treasure of curious and necessary information which hardly any other man would have ever attempted to bring together.

Such, very briefly, was the measure of his success as a librarian, as a student of American antiquities, and as an authority in our local history. But his companions and friends here remember him, and feel his loss,—not as scholar or student chiefly, but as a high-toned christian gentleman,—kindly, unselfish, public spirited, and governed by a chivalrous sense of honor. To send his only son to die in battle; to be ready with tender personal care to give relief in sickness or in want, to coöperate with any who had in hand the best interest of the town, of its schools, of its lectures, of its charities, or of its society, to render to the ministry of the church that invaluable assistance which a highly educated layman only can render, these were things of course in a life so generous and thoughtful.

In his will Dr. Haven has left to the society a memorial which we shall gratefully cherish. There was however no danger that he should be forgotten in these halls. In that instrument he says :

“ At the death of my wife, or sooner if she shall think best, I direct that all my books, and the sum of one thousand dollars in money be delivered and paid to the American Antiquarian Society; the said books to be placed in an alcove to be called The Haven Alcove, and the said sum of one thousand dollars to be safely invested as the Haven Fund, the income of which is to be invested in the pur-

chase of books which are also to be deposited in the same alcove."

Mrs. Haven has intimated her wish to make the Haven Fund available to the society at an early day.

Dr. Haven died on the 5th of September. A meeting of the council was held at once, and the council voted to attend his funeral with the members of the society who should be able. At that meeting the President and Secretary expressed our sense of his services to the society in language which we shall wish to preserve in our Proceedings.¹ The council and many members of the society subsequently participated in the funeral services, both at Worcester and at Mount Auburn. His body rests in Mount Auburn, by the body of his son. He was used to decorate that grave with flowers on the annual Decoration Day—and it will be a sad pleasure to continue for him that grateful office. The society assumed the charges of the journey and the funeral expenses, as a testimony of its regard to this liberal benefactor and valued officer.

Dr. Haven was born in Dedham, May 7, 1806. He was admitted to Harvard College in the class of 1826, and subsequently took his first degree at Amherst in that year. He entered at the bar in Middlesex County and began the practice of the law in Lowell. On the resignation of Mr. Maturin L. Fisher he was appointed librarian of our library, on the 23rd of September, 1837,² and he has ever since resided in Worcester. He received from Amherst the degree of Doctor of Laws and from Harvard that of Mas-

¹ The action of the council will be found on a following page.

² September 23, 1837. At a meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society. "voted that the meeting now proceed to the choice of a librarian and cabinet-keeper, to enter upon the duties of his office not later than the first day of April next, to continue in office during the pleasure of the Council. Chose Samuel F. Haven."—*Extract from Council Records.* The Haven portrait is marked "Librarian since 1838."

ter of Arts. He was a member of the Historical, the Philosophical and many other learned societies.

We have also lost from our number our diligent and distinguished fellow-student Hon. Charles Hudson, in his 86th year.

Hon. Charles Hudson, born in Marlborough, Mass., November 14, 1795, died in Lexington, Mass., May 4, 1881. He became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1844. He belonged in the epoch of Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, and their contemporaries. When Marlborough was divided, the portion of that town set off was named Hudson in his honor. He was a Universalist Minister and he took part in a controversy, now not remembered, between Unitarianism and Universalism. He entered political life in 1828 as a State representative. He was a member of Governor Morton's council in 1839-41, and representative in Congress from 1841-49, where he became prominent for his services in the tariff discussion of that period. He was naval officer of Boston, Mass., 1849-53, and Assessor of Internal Revenue for the Middlesex District during the first administration of President Lincoln, of whom he was a personal friend and one of his advisers at the conference held in Springfield, Ill., 1860. He was prominently associated with our earliest Railroad legislation and was State Director of the Boston and Albany Railroad and State Commissioner of the Hoosac Tunnel. He has issued histories of the towns of Westminster, Marlborough and Lexington. It is told of Mr. Hudson that he absented himself from his own canvass and went down to Maine to escape the suspicion of pushing for office.

He deposited from time to time in the library of the American Antiquarian Society manuscript volumes carefully written by his own pen, and neatly bound, containing Lives of the Massachusetts Governors Levi Lincoln, John Davis, and George N. Briggs; a sketch of the "American Trio,

Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun;" and lives and characters of Edward Everett and Marcus Morton contrasted. He published histories of the towns of Westminster in 1832, of Marlborough in 1862, and of Lexington, Mass., in 1868.

In the death of Hon. Charles Hudson the Society has lost a member of long standing, who not only contributed to its work as many public men have done by the weight of his character, by his reputation in the community, and by his counsel in its management—but to such services he added the scholar's duties of a careful historian. Vigorous and independent, he carried to the national councils that sturdiness of character which in critical times has been peculiar of the district which he represented. He certainly owed his elections to men's absolute confidence in the steadiness and weight of his character, and was not in the least dependent on the convenient arts of the politician. Of our later history, therefore, he had seen much, and he had borne a man's share in what he saw. He approached national politics with a Puritan's sensitiveness of conscience, and could not be persuaded to make the right subordinate itself to the expedient. His intimacy with public men, running far back into this century, gave an interest all its own to his study of the lives of his contemporaries. The Antiquarian Society has the benefit of that study in the series of memoirs which he has placed in its archives. The volumes and pamphlets which he has published on different subjects of history are leading authorities on those subjects and will remain so.

Another of our older members, not so frequent in his recent attendance at our meetings, died on the day of our last meeting. William Lawton, Esq., born at West Point, N. Y., May 1st, 1795, died at New Rochelle, N. Y., April 27th, 1881. His ancestors were of Leicester, Mass. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1852. He was in the war of 1812 and became a Ser-

gent Major of Artillery. He was one of the organizers of the New York Stock Exchange. He was greatly interested in coal mining and contributed to the American Antiquarian Society a manuscript History of Coal Mining in Pennsylvania. In many letters to Dr. Haven he manifested strong interest in this society and contributed valuable historical material.

The accessions to the Library during the last six months have been valuable,—more so than we can always expect in that period,—though the number of titles is not so large as it has sometimes been. The card catalogues and the alcove catalogues are advancing as rapidly as is consistent with accuracy. For details on these subjects the Council refer to Mr. Barton's report, which makes a part of their own report. The report of the Treasurer, which we also present, will show the safe investment, and satisfactory condition of the funds.

The Treasurer has received from the Executor of Ebenezer Alden, M.D., a check for one thousand dollars, bequeathed to the society, as a permanent fund to be safely invested, the income to be expended for the benefit of the library especially in preparing catalogues. The Council responded with thanks for this well-considered gift from an interested and honored member.¹ A Biographical Sketch

¹ At a special meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, held July 15th, at the office of Col. John D. Washburn, a letter from Rev. Dr. E. K. Alden, one of the executors of the late Ebenezer Alden, M.D., was laid before the Council by Nathaniel Paine, Esq., the treasurer. After due consideration, the following votes, offered by the president of the society, were unanimously adopted:

Voted, that this society do accept with gratitude and with the highest satisfaction, the legacy of \$1000 bequeathed by Dr. Ebenezer Alden of Randolph, a cordial and respected member, under the wise requirements prescribed by him, as a permanent fund, to be kept safely invested, and the income to be expended for the benefit of the library, especially in preparing catalogues.

Voted, that this fund now created shall be named the Alden Fund, in honorable memory of an associate who was distinguished by his manifest interest in the objects of this society, by his useful and faithful life, and by tastes and habits worthy of his Puritan descent.

Voted, that a copy of the votes relating to this legacy of Dr. Ebenezer Alden shall be sent to the executors of his will.

of Dr. Alden by his friend, Rev. Dr. Tarbox, mentions our society among the legatees in his will, adding: "To all he left gifts large enough to cheer and gladden, but exactly how much each will receive cannot be told until the estate is fully settled."

The Executors of Joseph J. Cooke, Esq., of Providence, R. I., gave notice, on August 13th, that Mr. Cooke had bequeathed to this society \$5000, "on condition that it should be used in the purchase of books at an auction sale of his library." It is reported that the library is very valuable. A second letter of September 12th informs us that the Will is contested and its validity will be subject to a decision of the Supreme Court in this month.

WITH the celebration now in progress at Yorktown in Virginia, that interesting and curious series of celebrations of the contests of the Revolution, which began with the centennial memorial of the Boston Massacre, comes to an end. These occasions have added very considerably to our knowledge of our own history. It is certain that we understand that history much better, in its motives and in its secret springs, than it was understood a hundred years ago.

In the misfortune which befalls the Council, from the late absence in Washington, of the distinguished Senator who had hoped to prepare this report, I will venture, in concluding it, to make a few suggestions, for which my associates must not be held responsible, as to the motives and dispositions of the English generals, to whose conduct their government entrusted the war, and who were held answerable in England for the failure of King George's wishes.

The statement is sometimes made that the command of the forces to be sent to America was offered to Lord Clive at the beginning of the war. Even Lord Macaulay, in what he calls his "flashy article" on Clive, says that the ministers would have been glad of his services had his health permitted; and even intimates that if Clive had accepted the

command, the inevitable issue might have been postponed for a few years. We have not found any contemporary authority for this statement. It is, in itself, highly improbable. It is not alluded to in Malcom's elaborate life of Clive, prepared from the family papers. It is not hinted at in George III.'s private notes to Lord North, now published by Lord Mahon. It is not alluded to in any of the standard histories. Such is the lack of positive testimony for the statement. As for the probability of the case, it should be remembered that Lord North voted against Clive in the critical vote of the 21st of May, 1773,—when his honor was at stake,—and, after a vehement debate, in which Clive himself joined, an attempt was made to censure him severely. It can hardly be, that, within twelve months, even North would have dared to offer him an independent command. It should be considered also that Lord Clive had, in the same year, said publicly that the question of American independence was only one of time,—using the great word thus freely before it was often used even on this side water. It seems then to the last degree improbable that Lord North would have offered the command of his little army in Boston to such a man,—who was also at that moment one of the richest and one of the most imperious men in the world,—the owner, among other things, of ten members of Parliament,—and deep in the intricate politics of the East India Company, whose entanglements were making England and America alike such trouble. It is to be added that Clive was not in the English army, and had not been, since he resigned the humble commission of an ensign, to go into the civil service of the East India Company.¹

¹ It may be observed that Clive was in England,—in the interim between his Indian commands, in 1759 and afterwards. At that time William Pitt was at the head of affairs. He had for Clive a cordial admiration, as Clive had for him. It is distinctly said that government then offered him anything he would have. It may be that there was then some thought, perhaps — after Wolfe's death, of offering him an Ameri-

For such reasons the writer of this report does not believe that the command in America was offered to him in 1774. During all that year Clive was very ill, unable to attend to any business, and in November, in a fit of severe pain, he killed himself.

The English government at that time had no idea that great generalship, or large forces would be needed here. On the 4th of February [redacted] from thinking of Lord Clive, the King writes [redacted] h: "Gen. Gage is willing to go back at a [redacted] coercive measures are adopted. He says t [redacted] ns while we are lambs, but if we take the res [redacted] will undoubtedly prove very weak. Four reg [redacted] Boston, will, he thinks, be sufficient." And on the 1 [redacted] July he writes: "I have seen Mr. Hutchinson, and am [redacted] well convinced they will soon submit." Under such [redacted] ions Gage was commissioned. He had been with W [redacted] rton, an aide of the unfortunate Braddock in the m [redacted] on Duquesne. He was probably appointed because he was supposed to know America, having married in New York, where he had been governor many years. Major Wemyss, who served under him, left in MS. this description of him: —

"Lieut.-General Gage, a commander-in-chief of moderate abilities, but altogether deficient in military knowledge. Timid and undecided in every emergency, he was very unfit to command, at a time of resistance and approaching rebellion to the mother country. He was governed by his wife, a handsome American; her brothers and relatives held all the staff appointments in the army, and were with less abilities, as weak characters as himself. To the great joy of the army he went to England soon after the disastrous attack at Bunker Hill."

Poor Gage was recalled in disgrace on the 2nd of August.

can command, — and that to some recollection of this the statement that he was offered Gage's place is due. That statement appears in print as early as 1808, perhaps earlier.

¹ Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library.

Gen. Howe, who then took the command, had served under General Wolfe in his Canadian campaign, and was therefore supposed to be acquainted with America. It was remembered that he was brother to Lord Howe, to whom the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had erected a monument in Westminster Abbey. He was certainly not without military ability. But in the estimate of his successes his enormous forces must be counted. He entered New York harbor, when he drove Washington from that city, with an army which we now know to have counted 31,625 men. To this large English and German force he added some companies of English loyalists. No other English general ever had so many troops in one place, under his command, through that war.

Poor Howe was removed, by way of punishment for Burgoyne's failure, and Gen. Clinton took his place. Clinton has left it on record that Howe was the laziest man who ever lived. This verdict also is probably true. In the opinion of their adversaries, however, Clinton was as unenterprising as Howe. In his excuse, it may be said that he was not so well supported from home as Howe had been in the effusiveness of the beginning of the war. As a boy he was acquainted with the city of New York, where his father was governor; and he himself, scarcely more than a boy, had held a military command there.

Burgoyne's abilities as a general are thus summed up by Mr. Carlyle. He speaks of his success at Alcantara in 1762, and adds: "*Note.*—The Burgoyne who begins in this pretty way, is the same who ended so dismally at Saratoga. Perhaps with other war officers, and training himself to something suitabler than parliamentary eloquence, he might have become a kind of general, and have ended far otherwise than there." In the way of parliamentary eloquence it may be noted that it was Burgoyne who had led the attack on Clive, which has been alluded to.

"One more unfortunate" was Gen. Henry Clinton, after-

ds made Sir Henry Clinton. He was eventually sacrificed in his turn, in penalty for Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. How much or how little he had to do with that surrender is a question of some immediate interest at this moment, and the consideration of it will occupy the remainder of this paper.

Napoleon said once that nothing was so bad for an army as a bad general, with this exception, that the army with two good ones was in a worse position. But in this oft cited remark Napoleon overlooked the condition when Clinton was arrayed against Washington and Rochambeau. The bad general had his match when the two good ones agreed in their movement. How early their agreement was made, and how far it went, has been a question a good deal discussed. It is substantially settled by a letter of Washington's just now discovered and printed by the Brooklyn Historical Society. The interest of this letter is such that we cite it in full.

" TO NOAH WEBSTER:—

MOUNT VERNON, July 31st, 1788.

SIR: I duly received your letter of the 14th instant, and can only answer you *briefly*, and generally from *memory*: That a combined operation of the land and naval forces of France in America for the year 1781, was preconcerted the year before; that the point of attack was not absolutely agreed upon,¹ because it could not be foreknown where the enemy would be the most susceptible of impression; and because we (having the command of the water, with sufficient means of conveyance) could transport ourselves to any spot with the greatest celerity; that it was determined by me (nearly twelve months beforehand) at all hazards, to give out, and cause it to be believed by the highest military as well as civil officers that New York was the destined place of attack, for the important purpose of inducing the eastern and middle states to make greater exertions in furnishing specific supplies than they otherwise would have done, as well as for the interesting purpose of rendering the enemy less prepared elsewhere; that, by these means, and these alone, artillery, boats, stores and provisions were in seasonable preparation to move with the utmost rapidity to any part of the conti-

¹ Because it would be easy for the Count de Grasse, in good time before his departure from the West Indies, to give notice by express, at which place he could most conveniently first touch to receive advice.

ment. For the difficulty consisted more in providing, than knowing how to apply the military apparatus: that before the arrival of the Count de Grasse it was the fixed determination *to strike the enemy in the most vulnerable quarter*, so as to ensure success with moral certainty, as our affairs were then in the most ruinous train imaginable: that New York was thought to be beyond our effort, and consequently that the only hesitation that remained was between an attack upon the British army in Virginia or that in Charleston. And finally, by the intervention of several communications, and some incidents which cannot be detailed in a letter, and w^{ch} were *altogether unknown* to the late Quarter Master General of the army (who was informed of nothing but what related to the immediate duties of his own department) the hostile Post in Virginia from being a *provisional and strongly expected* became *the definitive and certain object* of the campaign.

I only add that it never was in contemplation to attack New York, unless the garrison should first have been so far degarnished to carry on the southern operations, as to render our success in the siege of that place as infallible as any future military event can ever be made. For I repeat it, and dwell upon it again and again, some splendid advantage (whether upon a larger or smaller scale, was almost immaterial) was so essentially necessary to revive the expiring hopes and languid exertions of the country at the crisis in question, that I never would have consented to embark in any enterprise; wherein from the most rational plan and accurate calculations, the favorable issue should not have appeared as clear to my view as a ray of light. The failure of an attempt agst. the Posts of the enemy could, in no other possible situation during the war, have been so fatal to our cause.

That much trouble was taken, and finesse used to misguide and bewilder Sir Henry Clinton in regard to the real object, by fictitious communications, as well as by making a deceptive provision of ovens, forage and boats in his neighborhood, is certain. Nor were less pains taken to deceive our own army; for I had always conceived when the imposition did not take place at home, it could never sufficiently succeed abroad.

Your desire of obtaining truth is very laudable; I wish I had more leisure to gratify it; as I am equally solicitous the undisguised verity should be known. Many circumstances will unavoidably be misconceived and misrepresented. Notwithstanding most of the papers which may perhaps be deemed official are preserved; yet the knowledge of innumerable things, of a more delicate and secret nature is confined to the perishable remembrance of some few of the present generation. With esteem,

I am Sir,

Your most Obed^t H^{ble} Serv^t,

G^o. WASHINGTON."

That Clinton was deceived and outwitted by Washington and Rochambeau is now clear enough from his own letters. He left the field open for Washington's victory at Yorktown, as four years before Howe had left the field open for Gates's victory at Saratoga. The great denouement at Yorktown came on as pitilessly,* and as certainly as a victory of a great player at chess, when his antagonist has made one fatal error. One phrase in one of his own letters is worth quoting, however, before he is condemned as a fool. Speaking of the last year's service he says: "Of the 10,000 men I solicited, only 4,000 were even promised, and of these only a few recruits have ever joined this army."¹

That denouement is, in every sense, dramatic. It brings together so many elements of which poetry and romance are fond,—it draws together at one place so many of the several threads which had been spun for years on the various wheels of the great history,—it unites at one point so many typical men of different races, different antecedents and different futures,—that it must always stand in history as an event almost unique. It meets completely the demand which the most precise literary criticism would make for the conclusion of an epic or of a tragedy. It is with real satisfaction that the American reader finds that the flower of the American army, after six years of make-shift war, saw the thing done at last *secundum artem*, with all the precision and dignity of military science. And it could not have been expected that any scene could be contrived, where officers and soldiers from every State should participate in the victory. But this happened here, so far as States had troops to furnish. For Lafayette's campaign in Virginia had brought the light infantry of the army, who were made up from picked men from all corps. And when Washington brought his continental contingent, it seems as if he had

¹ p. 41. Clinton's Narrative; letter to Germain of July 18, 1781.

selected representative regiments from the different State lines. To the curious and valuable catalogue of officers, made by our distinguished associate Mr. Winthrop in his learned and eloquent address at the Yorktown Centennial, may be added Mr. Johnston's valuable list of troops.¹ Hazen's Canadian Regiment, and detachments of troops from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, all participated in the labors and in the honors of the victory. The finale to the play brought all the leading characters and all the choruses upon the stage.

With the ensemble of the surrender, the curtain fell. "My God! all is over!" shouted Lord North wildly, flinging out his arms as if he had received a ball in his breast.²

And it was over. Everyone knew it was over, very soon. History is perfectly accurate in saying that Yorktown closed the war,—as in saying that the shot fired, without command, in the gray of morning, on the green at Lexington, began it. And the conclusion is as dramatic as the beginning.

How did it happen that Lord Cornwallis and seven thousand soldiers and marines, the élite of the British forces, were cooped up in one place in Virginia, all ready for their unhappy part in this great drama?

The great lesson which the American Revolution teaches in history is incomplete until this question is answered.

It happened because Lord Cornwallis was a lord,—a favorite of the crown,—with influential friends at court. He knew that he could trifle with his superior, Sir Henry Clinton, because he was not a lord, and was not a favorite. The great surrender then, while it accomplishes American

¹ The Yorktown Campaign. By H. P. Johnston.

² Maj. Ross, in the Cornwallis correspondence, tries to throw discredit on this anecdote, because the English despatches had not arrived when the incident took place. But, in truth, the news came by the way of France. The English despatches were late, as they were apt to be.

independence, teaches to all nations which choose to learn, the folly and the danger of personal rule, and of putting trust in the favor of princes.

A careful reader learns that it was the King himself who threw away his own American empire. Each step in that great folly was governed by his wish to reign as Louis XIV. had reigned, — as an absolute autocrat, — rather than as a constitutional king.

Lord George Germain, next to King George the Third, was, through the war, the evil genius of the British empire. As early as the battle of Minden, in 1759, he commanded the cavalry under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Here is Carlyle's account of his memorable failure on that day : —

“Had Lord George Sackville, General of the Horse, come on when galloped for and bidden, here had been such a ruin, say all judges, as seldom come upon an army. Lord George, — everlasting disgrace and sorrow on the name of him, — could not see his way to coming on; delayed, haggled; would not even let Granby,¹ his lieutenant, come; not for a second adjutant, not for a third; never came on at all; but rode to the Prince, asking, ‘How am I to come on?’ Who, with a politeness I can never enough admire, did not instantly kill him, but answered in a mild tone, ‘Milord, the opportunity is now past.’”

Of Sackville's punishment, the same pitiless writer gives this account : —

“Ignominious Sackville was tried by court martial; cashiered, declared incapable of again serving his majesty ‘in any military capacity;’ perhaps a mild way of signifying that he wanted the common courage of a soldier? Zealous majesty, always particular in soldier matters, proclaimed it officially to be ‘a sentence worse than death;’ and furthermore, with his own royal hand, taking the pen himself, struck out Sackville from the list of Privy Counsellors. Proper, surely, and indispensable, and should have been persisted in like Fate; which, in a new Reign, it was

¹ In memory of this command on this day, Granby's head could be seen on tavern signs in America within the memory of this generation.

not! For the rest, there was always, and is something of an enigma in Sackville's palpably bad case. It is difficult to think that a Sackville wanted common courage. This Sackville fought duels with propriety; in private life he was a surly, domineering kind of fellow, and had no appearance of wanting spirit. It is known he did not love Duke Ferdinand; far from it! May he not have been of particularly sour humor that morning, the luckless fool; sulky against Ferdinand, and his 'saddling at one o'clock;' sulky against himself, against the world and mankind; and flabbily disinclined to heroic practices for the moment? And the moment came, and the man was not there, except in that foggy, flabby and forever ruinous condition."

Lord Mahon's verdict, in his grave way, is as severe:—

"On impartially viewing the whole case, and judging (for such is the right of history) the judges, we shall, I think, acknowledge that their decision was equitably founded. The only doubt that arises is, whether Sackville was swayed by one of those panics to which men of quick genius are sometimes prone, or by an envy of Prince Ferdinand's greatness, and a desire to leave the victory of his rival incomplete."

Mr. Macaulay, among the prominent authorities, is the only one known to me, who is more lenient.

This was the man, who had been found "unfit to serve the king in any military capacity,—" who, to show the king's spite against the king's own grandfather, and because the king liked him personally, was made Secretary of State for the colonies in 1774, and held in his hands all American destinies till he was driven from his post by the House of Commons in 1782. The king even then made him Viscount Sackville, and so raised him to the peerage.¹ As Secretary

¹ He asked the King to be made a viscount, for he said if he were called to the House of Lords as a baron only, his secretary, his lawyer, and his father's page would all take precedence of him. The first was Lord Walsingham, the second was Lord Loughborough, the third Lord Amherst, who had often ridden on the "braces of the Duke of Dorset's coach when he rode as vice-roy to open the Irish house of peers." *Georgian era*. The Duke of Dorset was Lord Germain's father.

for the Colonies,—in the very curious intricacy of English administration, even the war correspondence with generals in the field in America, involved largely upon him. It is to his punctilio, as Lord Shelburne declares, that we owe the marvellous failure of Sir William Howe at New York to co-operate with Burgoyne. Lord Shelburne, who must have known, thus explains the origin of this fatal blunder: In writing of Lord George Germain's incapacity, he says: "Among many singularities, he (Germain) had a particular aversion to being put out of his way on any occasion; he had fixed to go into Kent or Northamptonshire at a particular hour, and to call on his way at his office to sign the despatches, all of which had been settled, to both these generals. By some mistake, those to General Howe were not duly copied, and upon his growing impatient at it, the office, which was a very little one, promised to send it to the country after him, while they despatched the other to General Burgoyne, expecting that the others would be expedited before the packet sailed with the first, which, however, by some mistake, was delayed in them, and the wind detained the vessel, so that it was obliged to carry the rest. Hence came the error, which cost the French declaration, and the loss of thirteen thousand men. It might appear incredible if his own secretary, and the most respectable persons in office had not assured me of the facts: what corroborates it is, that it can be accounted for in no other way."¹

It is Germain who tires out every commander in turn, but Cornwallis. It is to Germain that Clinton writes as early as August 20, 1779, begging that he may resign the command. "To say truth, my lord, my spirits are worn out." It is Germain, again, who is Cornwallis's special friend, and who sends Cornwallis on the separate command which he begged for, and instructs him to correspond with

¹ *Fitzmaurice's Life of Shelburne*: Vol. I. The anecdote limps at some points, but in substance must be true.

him independently, — as if he had been in Africa, — an instruction which naturally awakens all Clinton's jealousy.

Once more, when Cornwallis has sent home his plan for a joint operation of all the English force against Virginia, — and Clinton his for a joint operation against Philadelphia and the peninsula south of it, — it is Germain who writes cordially to each, — and gives the approval of the government to both the plans, as if a joint army could be in two places at the same time.

Clinton knew perfectly that Cornwallis was the pet of the court and of Germain. Like a man of spirit he begged that the whole command might be given to Cornwallis. He almost argues the point. He must not say so in words; but at that early date he concedes the impossibility of the enterprise they are all engaged in. But, "if the endeavors of any man can be attended with success," that man is Lord Cornwallis, he says; and he intimates that it is because Lord Cornwallis would receive more cordial support than was awarded him. This was true. In the same correspondence, Germain has the audacity to excuse himself for not reinforcing Clinton, because Clinton had kept the transports he wanted on the American side. Imagine Chatham, with all the resources of England at his command, failing to reinforce an army at the right moment, because a few transports were not in the particular harbor where he wanted them! To this sort of punctilio, and to Germain's habit of setting personal pique, or personal convenience, higher than the interests of an empire, did King George owe the loss of his colonies, and poor Clinton owe the loss of his reputation.

For it should be remembered that he had distinguished himself at Bunker Hill, — he had ably seconded Howe at Long Island. The first failure before Charleston is to be called a failure of the English navy, rather than of the army. In 1777 Clinton tried to do as second, what Howe should have done as first; he pressed up the Hudson, as it would seem, without orders, to the relief of Burgoyne. So soon

as he took full command he won the greatest successes which the English arms achieved in the war. His expedition against Penobscot in 1778, — which we always conveniently forget, — resulted in the saddest military reverse Massachusetts ever knew. It wiped out of being the navy of Massachusetts, — which was part of a fleet of nineteen ships which were then destroyed. He compelled Lincoln to surrender at Charleston with 6,000 men, — a success fairly thought to be the compensation for Saratoga. He received the thanks of Parliament for it, and was the hero of the hour, except at court. At court, in the heart of the King, and of Germain, his evil genius, there was still this engrossing love, hardly hidden, for the dashing, spirited Cornwallis; born a lord, and thus fit to command the armies of an absolute monarch.

This is what Clinton did. Every soldier says he should have done more, — and this is probably true. None the less is it worth note, that although he was the only general who did win substantial victories for England, he was virtually disgraced when Cornwallis lost the Continent. Yet, Cornwallis himself, when he returned to London, was received with cordial favor at court, and within four years was sent out as Commander-in-Chief to India.

The special and critical act of insubordination, in which Cornwallis first presumed to move in disregard of Clinton's wishes, was his march across the country from Wilmington to Norfolk. The geography is familiar to us now, alas! from the campaigns of recent wars. Cornwallis held the command in the Carolinas. He chose to transfer his army to Virginia, and to compel his superior officer to sustain him there. The penalty to that superior, if he refused to comply, was to be the risk of losing an army. Cornwallis asked no advice from Clinton. He did not want any. Without it he pressed across from Wilmington to Petersburg, and joined Arnold with the English contingent there. Poor Clinton was in dismay when he heard of this, and well he might

be. "I cannot conceal from your lordship my apprehensions." These are his words.¹

By this movement, in the first place, Cornwallis left the Carolinas to the tender mercies of Gen. Greene. By a movement of profound strategy Greene had refused to follow Cornwallis to the sea, when he retired to Wilmington, after the battle of Guildford, and, leaving him to his own choice, had marched promptly into South Carolina. If a layman may be permitted to make such a comparison, this critical movement of Greene southward resembled in its plan, and in its results, that critical movement of the late war, in which General Sherman left General Hood to his fate in Tennessee, and made his celebrated march through Georgia. Lord Cornwallis is the General Hood of that parallel. Leaving Greene to go where he chose, he marches north two hundred miles into Virginia, and by his junction with Arnold's detachment, becomes the commander at once, of nearly five thousand men. This force, as we know, subsequently grew larger.

It is no part of this paper to follow that Virginian campaign, in which Cornwallis marched about much as he chose, destroying stores, shipping tobacco, and stealing horses. This is almost his own account of it. He was waiting for Clinton's adhesion to his plan of "solid operations in Virginia." When, instead of that adhesion, there came a despatch mildly rebuking him for insubordination, Cornwallis, in a pet, chose to obey the letter of these particular

¹ It is said that North said he always opened the American despatches with terror. Cowper, who wanted the Americans subdued as thoroughly as his king did, — wrote in the *Task*, in lines familiar to every one fifty years ago:—

——— "have our troops awaked?
Or do they still as if with opium drugged
Snore to the murmurs of the Atlantic wave?"

This is much as another generation heard that all was "quiet on the Potomac."

orders, without caring how far he traversed their spirit, or compromised the Commander-in-Chief. He was ready to obey orders now, although he might "break owners."

His adversary, Lafayette, to the hour of his death, could never understand why Cornwallis retreated before him. It is only from the recent publication of a few letters, not published at the time, that we know that Cornwallis had promised to be at Williamsburg on a particular day for Clinton's orders, and that when the time came he retired to that place accordingly, to receive them.

Clinton having directed him to establish a post at Yorktown, a post at Yorktown he established. No matter what circumstances changed: no matter what despatches failed, he obeyed to the letter the instructions of the despatches he received. He could be as obedient now to the letter of his instructions as he had before been disobedient to their spirit. Thus he did what he did not mean to do. He threw away the British empire of America. But he also did what he meant to do, he destroyed the reputation of Sir Henry Clinton. For himself, he thought the favor of George the Third would pull him through, whatever the contingency. He did not think the contingency would be as fatal as it was. But the king's favor was enough for Cornwallis. It never did fail him, and it pulled him through.

Precisely what Cornwallis meant by his frequent phrase, "solid operations in Virginia," does not fully appear. He says in one place, "we could set up our own government there, and establish some sort of a militia." He had learned that it is easier to carry on aggressive war in a country where all the laborers are slaves, and must not bear arms, than it is in States where every man is a soldier, and every boy is trained to the use of his weapon. It is hard to say what he meant. But it is clear enough that in his last visit to England he had talked, perhaps romantically, with Germain about these "solid operations," and this possible government. There has even been a vague suspicion that it

was proposed to place Prince William Henry, afterwards William the Fourth, at the head of this possible government, somewhat as the heir apparent is Prince of Wales. It is certain that one of the early experiences of that prince was to sail from New York with Clinton in the unfortunate fleet which arrived off Cape Charles a week too late to save Cornwallis. The adventure was perhaps typical of his after-life.

The question of course recurs, why did the government not accept Clinton's resignation when it was pressed on them so eagerly? If Cornwallis was the favorite, why did they not give him in form the chief command? He was an admirable soldier. As a commander especially he showed promptness, ingenuity, and resource; he had shown that admirable attribute which is called success, and he was the favorite of all his men. He was in every way Clinton's superior as a commander.¹ Why did they not give him the command when Clinton himself urged it? This is one of the questions not yet answered. Perhaps it will be answered when Clinton's unpublished memoirs see the light. It is safe to say that when we have the answer it will belong to the wretched history of court intrigue and personal favorites. Clinton had owed his promotion originally to his relationship to the Duke of Newcastle, of whom it is said that his administrative incompetency, and the long period, amounting to forty years, that he held office, are among the anomalies of British politics.² Macaulay says of him: "All that the art of the satirist does for other ridiculous men, nature had done for him." "All the able men of his time ridiculed him as a dunce." He died in 1768, and among other things he did

¹ It is said that the light infantry tactics of the world, at the present time, are developed from the new ideas brought out by Lafayette and Steuben in the American service, and by Lord Cornwallis in the English service in the Revolution. He wholly changed the character of the regiments which he commanded.

² Clinton was the relative, not very far removed, of Lady Arbella Johnson. Did he ever think of looking up her grave-stone when he was in Boston?

was to bring Henry Clinton well forward in the English army. We are left to guess that it may have been Clinton's connection with the Newcastle family, which, fortunately for us, left him in command when he wanted to leave; when Cornwallis wanted him to leave, and when Germain wanted him to leave. There may have been some reason why it was desirable to please the Newcastles.¹

All which is respectfully submitted.

For the Council.

EDWARD E. HALE.

¹ Major James Wemyss, afterwards Colonel, whose notes on Gage have been cited, leaves in the same MS. these judgments on Cornwallis and Clinton:—

“Lieut.-Gen. Earl Cornwallis, a good officer, devoted to the service of his country. His active and difficult campaigns in the southern provinces, particularly S. Carolina, fully proved his abilities, bravery and enterprise. He was beloved by the army but erred for a time in a mistaken partiality for Lieut.-Col. Tarleton, and adopting too frequently the opinions of others around him in preference to his own better judgement.”

“Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Sir Wm. Howe.—An honorable and respectable officer of the German school, having served under Prince Ferdinand of Prussia and the Duke of Brunswick. He was vain, open to flattery and, from a great aversion to all business not military he was often misled by his Aides-de-Camp.”—*MSS. in Sparks collection.*

No one but myself is responsible for those parts of this report which refer to the Yorktown campaign. When I prepared it I had not the great advantage which I should have obtained if I had then seen General De Peyster's exhaustive study of the subject in the United Service Review for November. Cornwallis has been very hardly treated by English military critics. But he finds a cordial defender in General De Peyster, who, with a soldier's sympathy, appreciates his rare military genius. Some further notes on English officers who served in the War of the Revolution will be found in another part of these Proceedings.

E. E. H.

REPORT ON THE LIBRARY.

As it was my great privilege for nearly sixteen years, to be closely associated, in the Society work, with our late councillor and librarian, Dr. Haven, I desire to place on record my tribute of high regard, tender love and lasting gratitude. Thanks to the thoughtful but unknown donors of his admirable portrait, we shall be daily reminded of him and the great though quiet work he performed. His duties, whether public or private, received the most conscientious attention, and neither the cheerful service he so long rendered, in so many ways, and to so many people, nor his wise counsel, keen but kindly wit, quick repartee, or gentlemanly bearing, will soon be forgotten. May the example of this Christian scholar have many followers.

The accessions for six months ending October 15th, are as follows: By gift, two hundred and fifty-nine books, eighteen hundred and eighty-one pamphlets, one hundred and sixteen volumes of unbound newspapers, fifty autographs, twenty-seven coins, twenty-two maps, thirteen prints, ten portraits, two photographs and two articles for the cabinet. By exchange, two hundred and twenty-one books, five hundred and eighteen pamphlets and ninety-five volumes of unbound newspapers; and by purchase, thirty-eight books, thirty-three pamphlets and twenty-eight maps. Making a total of six hundred and seven books, twenty-four hundred and thirty-two pamphlets, two hundred and eleven volumes of newspapers, fifty maps, fifty autographs, twenty-seven coins, thirteen prints, ten portraits, two drawings, two photographs and two articles for the cabinet. There have been added to the Benjamin F. Thomas alcove sixteen

volumes of local history and to the Isaac Davis Spanish-American alcove seven volumes relating to Mexico and Paraguay. It will be noticed that the purchases for Col. Davis's alcove relate as heretofore, by his consent, to *America* south of the United States, not *North America*, as required by the letter accompanying his original gift. The field is large, even within the limits prescribed, if we may judge by Mr. Bandelier's "Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America," published in the Society's Proceedings of October, 1880. Many of these works are not only rare but valuable, and both time and money will be required to secure them. Occasional volumes reach the Library marked for these collections of specialties, thus showing a practical approval of the comparatively new departure, and giving an earnest of other benefactions, to the departments established by the liberality of members.

The list of donors and donations appended, has been alphabetically arranged under three heads, for facility of reference, viz.: Members, of whom forty-seven have contributed, twenty-eight of the number works of their own authorship; those not members, of whom eighty-six have contributed, thirty-two sending works of their own; and Societies and Institutions, from which fifty-five donations have been received. Of the first class, Hon. John Denison Baldwin placed in the alcove of Genealogy his "Record of the Descendants of John Baldwin of Stonington, Conn., with notices of other Baldwins who settled in America in Early Colony Times;" and promised his extended work on the Denison Family, which is in press. Ex-Governor Bullock and our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, have remembered the Society's desire for all its separately printed monographs, the latter adding useful material from his never-failing supply. Robert Clarke, Esq., continues to provide the Rebellion and Slavery alcove with the account of the annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, a complete set of which reports it is hardly possible to secure,

since a large part of the edition of the first volume was destroyed in the Chicago fire. Hon. Edward L. Davis has added to the library quite a large collection of text and other books, and to the hall a Japanese easy-chair. John T. Doyle, Esq., having gathered together the documents relating to the Trust known as "the Pious Fund of California," in which case he was employed as one of the counsel, has forwarded them in substantial binding for the Society's acceptance. Dr. Samuel A. Green has presented copies of two editions of his "History of Medicine in Massachusetts," with the numerous benevolent society Annuals, which we receive from no other source. The history of these Societies is thus preserved, and the formation of other institutions of a like nature often encouraged. Dr. Green has frequently put the Society in the way of obtaining valuable material from unknown quarters. Rev. Dr. Hale has allowed us to take all his duplicates of the Society's proceedings, some of which are quite scarce; and through him we have received, by an exchange with the Hale family of Boston, nearly one hundred volumes of the London Times and the Journal *Dés Débats*, which fill important gaps in our files. Prof. Henry W. Haynes signified his acceptance of active membership by supplying the Library with his "Discovery of Paleolithic Implements in Upper Egypt," and several other kindred works.

Col. Higginson's oration at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Cambridge, and his address at the Celebration of the Battle of the Cowpens, May 11, 1881, have been received from the author. Senator Hoar has forwarded from Washington his customary gifts of Government publications; and Rev. Dr. Huntington has made his semi-annual donation of Episcopal Church literature. Dr. Francis Parkman upon being informed of the need of some of his publications, has added to his works already in the Library. To Mr. Salisbury, Jr., we are indebted for the continuation of Ancona's History of Yucatan, four volumes

of which have been published; and for sets of reports of the School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Children, of which he is a Trustee. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Society was able, some years since, to loan for reproduction, one of their reports which it was supposed had never been printed. Attention is called to a marble bust lately received by Mr. Salisbury, Jr., from New York, and your judgment requested both as to the sculptor and subject. It was found in a Spanish drug store which had previously been used by a marble worker, and represents a lady, probably of the early part of the nineteenth century. Nothing more is known of its history, but by persons competent to judge, it is pronounced a work of more than ordinary merit.

William A. Smith, Esq., has contributed a folio edition of Horace, printed in Latin, at Paris in 1642, thus fulfilling a promise made to Dr. Haven, that the work should finally rest here. Watt truly calls it "a very excellent and splendid edition;" and it may be added, that it is of high market value. Judge Alphonso Taft has sent a fine copy of Shea's edition of Hennepin's *Louisiana*, and Dorman's "Origin of Primitive Superstitions;" and Dr. Charles O. Thompson, while adding largely to our educational matter in general, has taken especial pains to make a collection relating to Technical Education. This department he intends to keep well filled, that it may shed the light so much desired on this subject of increasing interest. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull's work on the "Indian Names of Places, etc., in and near the borders of Connecticut," will help us to answer many hard questions, by the highest authority. It is to be hoped that his custom of sending copies of his own numerous publications to the exchange department of the library, may become general among our members. By order of Dr. Wm. D. Whitney, a copy of his elaborate Sanskrit Grammar, recently published, has been forwarded from Leipzig. Of the second class mentioned,

Andrew McF. Davis, Esq., has given several books relating to the Pacific Coast and the "Californian" as issued, and Mrs. S. F. Haven the first and second series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, with other selected books. Mr. E. G. Howe has wisely deposited "The Minute Men Agreement at Snow's, Paxton, May 31, 1775," containing twenty-four names, some of which are still prominent in that hill town. We may hope that this is but the beginning of such gifts, suggested by Mr. Paine's valuable paper on "Revolutionary Orderly Books and Kindred Records." Rev. A. P. Marvin's History of Worcester in the War of the Rebellion, the new edition, with additions and corrections, has been received from the author, from whom the Society has purchased his transcript of its manuscript autobiography of Increase Mather, subject to a revision. Caleb B. Metcalf, Esq., has continued his gifts of educational literature and Dr. B. G. Northrop has contributed eight of his monographs. Mr. Sidney S. Rider has brought to the Library a photograph of "the first Civil Compact entered into with the First Proprietors of Providence whereby a government was established entirely separating Church from State," with seven historical productions published by him. General Horatio Rogers has left for our acceptance his "Private Libraries of Providence with a preliminary essay on the Love of Books," only a small edition of which was printed. It includes sketches of the John Carter Brown, Joseph J. Cooke, John R. Bartlett, Royal C. Taft, Alexander Farnum, C. Fiske Harris and Horatio Rogers libraries. Messrs. Witherby, Rugg and Richardson of Worcester, have sent, for preservation, nearly complete files of about a dozen years of four of the leading scientific and mechanical journals, carefully arranged for binding, some of which we were very desirous to secure.

While the work of the Library has progressed very quietly the past six months, the number of visitors has materially increased, especially during the summer, when many per-

sons take advantage of the vacation period, to forward their studies in their several specialties. Library duties change but little from year to year, except as new ones are added to those already established. The correspondence, daily acknowledgments, and entry of accessions, hospitable reception and attendance upon persons seeking information, making exchanges, classifying material, arranging periodicals and newspapers for the binder, supplying data for census and other reports, assisting outside enterprises, like Sabin's Dictionary of Books relating to America, cataloguing and indexing. These are some of the pleasant requirements of to-day in an historical library like our own.

It is not surprising that the small but valuable collection of fine arts calls many to the rooms, since we already have, for example, original portraits by Alexander, Billings, Copley, Custer, Greenwood, Gullag, Harding, Huntington, Osgood, Pelham, Sully and Wight; with copies of Parmigianino and Southland; busts by Clevenger, Dexter, Kinney, Powers and Volk; with copies of Ceracchi and Houdon; casts from the world-renowned statues of the Christ and Moses by Michael Angelo; original engravings by Nanteuil and Hogarth; and the beautiful Venetian Mosaic of Columbus. To these should be added Mr. Salisbury, Jr.'s upright cases of Central American remains, a second one having just been placed in the main hall, and his stand of Yucatecan and Grecian photographs.

The alcove lists are still in course of preparation by Mr. Colton, assisted by Mr. Riordan, and the card catalogue, recently commenced by Miss Robinson, under Mr. Salisbury, Jr.'s personal direction and Mr. Colton's immediate care, is sure to be pushed vigorously forward.

We are not informed as to the date of the closing sale of the Brinley Library, in which the Society has a right of about one thousand dollars, but it probably will not take place before the opening of the new year. The good example of our late associate, Mr. George Brinley, in allowing certain

libraries, in which he had been especially interested, to bid off without charge, twenty-five thousand dollars worth of books at the sale of his library, has been followed by Mr. Joseph J. Cooke, late of Providence, R. I., who has, by bequest, provided for a similar right of five thousand dollars each to ten Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut libraries, as follows: the American Antiquarian Society, Harvard College, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Brown University, Providence Athenæum, Providence Public Library, the Rhode Island Historical Society, Redwood Library, Trinity College and Yale College. This library has not the international reputation of the Lenox, Brinley or Carter-Brown libraries, but is believed to be one of the largest private libraries, of a general character, in America.

Last year the Minnesota Historical Society, through Mr. J. Fletcher Williams, their librarian, kindly offered to complete, as far as possible, our set of their territorial and State documents, which offer was promptly accepted, and as a result, one of the most complete collections in the country may be found on our shelves. It was fortunate for both giver and receiver that action was taken at once, for the fire at the State House last spring destroyed not only a mass of similar documents, but a portion of the Historical Society's Library. Mr. Williams writes: "It was very fortunate that I sent you that set of laws and documents last year. It would now be impossible to do it. All the sets owned by the State are gone, and all which we had preserved. The books I sent you then would now sell for probably five hundred dollars, so scarce have they become by the fire of March 1st. Our own set is not now as complete as yours is." Having lately received from the society a list of books wanted to purchase to replace copies lost by the fire, a contribution of such as could be supplied from the duplicate room was at once sent. Minnesota has at least been more fortunate than one of our New England newspaper companies,

which, having decided to place a complete set of its paper outside of the office, delayed action, until the fire came, and to-day no file is known to exist. It would seem that the lesson taught at Saint Paul would strongly suggest the wisdom of more liberal laws as to the distribution of National and State documents to libraries. Even the State of Massachusetts so interprets the present law, that only such as bear the name of "Public Documents" upon them can be claimed, leaving out, among others, the Journals of the Senate and House, so important as indexes to what measures public men have forwarded in their service for the State. It is possible that State libraries exchange documents more freely with each other, but apparently the American Library Association Committee on the distribution of Public Documents has a field of usefulness in this direction. The wise effort of the State Library at Boston to gather every Massachusetts county and town report ever printed, may well be followed by her sister States. We were able to supply nearly five hundred of the early reports from our duplicates, in the way of exchange. Since the war, many sets of Worcester and other directories have been exchanged for like biographical matter, until the half alcove, devoted to that purpose, is nearly full. With our widely extended membership, large additions ought easily to be made to this department, which, though it seems unimportant, is helpful in many ways. The directory exchanges of the past six months have been with Messrs. Sampson, Davenport and Co., Publishers, Boston, who were largely assisted by us after each of their heavy losses by fire, and the New Bedford Free Public Library. Messrs. Drew, Allis and Co., publishers of various directories, deserve thanks for many gifts in this line.

By an exchange with the Library of Congress, we have received the fourth volume of Pierre Margry's "*Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale,*" covering the period from 1694

to 1703. Twenty-eight city and town views have been purchased and added to our large collection. A considerable amount of magazine and newspaper literature, now ready for binding, will require an early draft upon the Salisbury Binding Fund.

Upon the return of Hon. Dwight Foster from Europe, the Publication Committee hope to put in print the Lechford Note Book and Business Record, and with the assistance of Dr. Trumbull, Judge Foster, at whose charge the work is to be issued, and his son, Alfred D. Foster, Esq., to make it a worthy companion of the other volumes of the Society's transactions. Aside from the interest which the legal fraternity will take in the record of the professional work of the first Boston lawyer, the historian and genealogist will doubtless find needed help in their researches.

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Assistant-Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, Prof. HERBERT B.**, Baltimore, Md.—His papers on the “Germanic Origin of our Towns,” and the “Old Commons and Commoners of Salem.”
- AMES, ELLIS, Esq.**, Canton.—His Communications on the “Garrison Mob,” Oct. 21, 1835, and the “Expedition against Carthage” in 1740.
- BALDWIN, Hon. JOHN D.**, Worcester.—His “Record of the Descendants of John Baldwin, of Stonington, Conn., with Notices of other Baldwins who settled in America in early Colony Times.”
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M.**, Worcester.—One hundred and forty-four pamphlets; three prints; three photographs; and one tintype.
- BROCK, Mr. ROBERT A.**, Richmond, Va.—Various newspapers containing historical matter communicated by him and others; the *Richmond Standard* as issued; and *Chesterman's “Guide to Richmond and the Battle Fields.”*
- BULLOCK, Hon. ALEXANDER H.**, Worcester.—His “Centennial of the Massachusetts Constitution.”
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Esq.**, Cincinnati, O.—An account of the Twelfth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland.
- DAMON, Rev. SAMUEL C., D.D.**, Honolulu, H. I.—One pamphlet.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L.**, Worcester.—Fifty-two books; forty-four pamphlets; two maps; one print; and an easy chair from Japan.
- DOYLE, JOHN T., Esq.**, San Francisco, Cal.—His “Account of the Pious Fund of California, and the Litigation to recover it.”
- GREEN, SAMUEL A., M.D.**, Boston.—His *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, two editions; six books; sixty-three pamphlets; and a specimen of the envelope used for voting in Massachusetts about 1852.
- GREEN, Mr. SAMUEL S.**, Worcester.—His Tenth Annual Report as Librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester; and his “Library Aids.”
- GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D.**, Providence, R. I.—Four books; and eight Brown University pamphlets.
- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D.**, Boston.—Fifteen numbers of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 1850-59.*
- HAVEN, SAMUEL F., LL.D.**, Worcester.—Bransford's *Archæological Researches in Nicaragua*; and four numbers of magazines.
- HAYNES, Prof. HENRY W.**, Boston.—His *Discovery of Palæolithic Implements in upper Egypt*; *Compte Rendu de la Congrès International D'Anthropologie et D'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, Stockholm, 1874, *Tomes Premier et Second*; and *Bibliographie de L'Archéologie Préhistorique de la Swède.*

- HIGGINSON, Col. THOS. WENTWORTH, Cambridge.—“The Exercises in Celebrating the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Cambridge,” including Col. Higginson’s Oration; and his Address at the Celebration of the Battle of the Cowpens, May 11, 1881.
- HITCHCOCK, Prof. EDWARD, Amherst.—His report of twenty years experience in the Department of Physical Education and Hygiene in Amherst College.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His Address before the Graduating Classes of Yale Law School, June 28, 1881; twenty-six books; three hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; a file of the United States Census Bulletin; and the Congressional Record in continuation.
- HOYT, ALBERT H., Esq., Cincinnati, O.—One pamphlet; and one newspaper.
- HUGUET-LATOUR, Major L. A., Montreal, Can.—Three of his own publications; and three selected pamphlets.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., Worcester.—Forty-eight pamphlets, chiefly relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church.
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—His Addresses before the Georgia Historical Society, February 14, 1881; and before the Confederate Survivors’ Association, Savannah, April 26, 1881.
- NASON, Rev. ELIAS, Billerica.—His Literary History of the Bible.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—His Genealogical Notes on the Paine Family of Worcester, Mass.; his Report for the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, with Remarks upon Revolutionary Orderly Books, April 27, 1881; the Paine Family Record, Nos. 5, 11 and 12; eight books; eighty-two pamphlets; ten portraits; the Christian Union in continuation; and various newspapers, circulars and cards.
- PARKMAN, FRANCIS, LL.D., Boston.—His La Salle, and the Discovery of the Great West; and his Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.
- PEREZ, Sr. ANDRES A., New York.—Four files of Yucatan newspapers.
- POOLE, Mr. WILLIAM F., Chicago, Ill.—His Eighth Annual Report as Librarian of the Chicago Public Library.
- POORE, Maj. BEN PERLEY, Washington, D. C.—The Congressional Directory of the Forty-seventh Congress, Special Session of the Senate, edited by Mr. Poore.
- RAU, Prof. CHARLES, Washington, D. C.—His Paper on Aboriginal Stone-Drilling.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Harvard Register, Vol. III., in binding; and four files of newspapers.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Jr., Esq., Worcester.—Ancona’s Historia de Yucatan, Vols. 3 and 4; Chamisso’s Faust, translated by Henry Phillips, Jr., Esq.; and seven pamphlets.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A., Esq., Worcester.—Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera, fol. ed. 1642.
- STONE, Rev. EDWIN M., Providence, R. I.—Two Providence City Documents.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—His Mound-Builders’ Works near Newark, Ohio; his Military Expeditions of the North West Territory; Ohio Statistics for 1880; eight pamphlets; and numbers of Ohio newspapers.
- TAFT, Hon. ALPHONSO, Cincinnati, O.—Dorman’s Origin of Primitive Superstitions; and Shea’s Edition of Hennepin’s Description of Louisiana.

- THOMPSON, Prof. CHARLES O., Worcester.—His Paper on the Effect of Sewage on Iron; twenty-five books; three hundred and fourteen miscellaneous and sixty-four pamphlets relating to Technical Education; sixteen maps; the "Railroad Gazette," and "American Manufacturer" in continuation; and various newspapers in numbers.
- TRUMBULL, Hon. J. HAMMOND, Hartford, Conn.—His "Indian Names of Places, etc., in and on the Borders of Connecticut; with interpretations of some of them;" and twenty of his other publications.
- VALENTINI, PHILLIPP J. J., Ph. D., New York.—Fac-similes of two Mexican Jadeites from Burmah; and two colored drawings of the same.
- WATERSTON, Rev. ROBERT C., Boston.—His Memoir of George Sumner; and his remarks at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Boston Society of Natural History.
- WHEATLAND, HENRY, M.D., Salem.—The Peabody Press for 1879-80, in continuation.
- WHITEHEAD, Mr. William A., Newark, N. J.—The Report of the State Geologist of New Jersey for the year 1880.
- WHITNEY, Wm. DWIGHT, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His Sanskrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language, and the older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana.
- WILSON, DANIEL, LL.D., Toronto, Canada.—His "Prehistoric Man, Researches into the Origin of Civilization in the Old and the New World," two vols. octavo, London, 1876.
- WINSOR, Prof. JUSTIN, Cambridge.—His Bibliography of the Publications of James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps.
- WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Colonel Prescott, Bunker Hill, June 17, 1881.
- WOODWARD, ASHBEL, M.D., Franklin, Conn.—His Paper on Wampum, second edition.

FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

- ALDEN, Rev. EDMUND K., D.D., Boston.—Memorial of Ebenezer Alden, M.D.
- ALLIS, Mr. GARDNER S., Worcester.—Three Directories of early date.
- ANCONA, Señor DESIDERIO, Holyoke.—File of a Yucatan newspaper.
- BARRETT, Mr. CHARLES H., Worcester.—History of the Class of '80 of the Worcester Technical Institute.
- BARTON, Capt. CHARLES HENRY, Topeka, Kansas.—One pamphlet, and various Kansas newspapers.
- BIRD, Rev. FREDERICK M., South Bethlehem, Pa.—The Register of Lehigh University for 1880-81.
- BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., Boston.—His Poems, third series, 1881; and his Sermon on the Death of President Garfield.
- BEHMER, Mr. GEORGE H., Washington, D. C.—His Index to Papers on Anthropology, published by the Smithsonian Institution, 1847 to 1878.
- BRYANT, H. W., Esq., Portland, Me.—His Report of 1881, as Assistant-Librarian of the Maine Historical Society.
- CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Worcester.—The Hammatt Papers, No. 2; and Antiquarian Papers, Nos. 15-24, all relating to Ipswich, Mass., and edited by Messrs. Caldwell and Dowe.

- CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., Mendon.—His “Who was the First Minister of Mendon?”
- CLEMENCE, Mr. HENRY M., Worcester.—Twenty pamphlets.
- COLTON, Mr. SAMUEL H., Worcester.—Massachusetts Board of State Charities Reports, 1870-73.
- CUDMORE, P., Esq., Faribault, Minn.—His President Grant and Political Rings; and his *Le Sueur* Litany.
- CUMMINGS, Mr. HERBERT R., Worcester.—Upham’s Brief History of the Art of Stenography, with a proposed new system of Phonetic Short-Hand.
- DANIELS, Rev. C. H., Cincinnati, O.—An account of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Vine Street Congregational Church, Cincinnati, O., April 10, 1881.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Esq., San Francisco, Cal.—Scammon’s “Marine Animals and American Whale Fishery;” Coolbrith’s “Perfect Day,” and other poems; two pamphlets; and the *Californian*, in continuation.
- DICKINSON, Master G. STUART, Worcester.—A parcel of amateur newspapers.
- DRISKO, MARY F., Machiasport, Me.—An early edition of Webster’s Dictionary.
- DUNCAN, Mrs. A. G., West Hanover.—Felt’s account of Massachusetts Currency.
- DUNN, Mrs. ROBINSON P., Worcester.—Three books; and seventy-three pamphlets, chiefly relating to American colleges.
- DUREN, Mr. ELNATHAN F., Secretary, Bangor, Me.—Minutes of the General Conference of Maine, and Maine Missionary Society, 1881.
- FAY, Mr. PETER, Southboro’.—An account of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Pilgrim Church, Southboro’, Mass.
- FELTON, Mr. CYRUS, Marlborough.—His Record of Remarkable Events in Marlborough and neighboring towns, number two.
- FISHER, CHARLES H., M.D., Providence, R. I.—His third annual Report as Secretary of the Rhode Island State Board of Health.
- FLAGG, SAMUEL, M.D., Worcester.—Three editions of the Bible, viz. 1776, 1815, 1831; and seven miscellaneous books.
- FOLSOM, Capt. A. A., Boston.—The two hundred and sixth, and the two hundred and forty-third annual records of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts.
- FOOTE, Rev. HENRY L., Clinton.—Thirty-three pamphlets.
- FOSTER, Mr. WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His Monthly Reference Lists for March, 1881; and his third Report as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- GEROULD, Mrs. D. G., Worcester.—Fourteen books; twenty-seven pamphlets; six maps; and two prints.
- GOSS, Mr. ELBRIDGE H., Melrose.—One pamphlet.
- HALL, Mr. J. BRAINERD, Worcester.—Two pamphlets; and the *Sunday Herald* in continuation.
- HAMILTON, Mr. CHARLES, Worcester.—“Ralph Earle and his Descendants,” a Broadside compiled by Phineas Earle, M.D., in 1860.

HAMMOND, LEWIS W., Esq., Worcester.—*Nineteen pamphlets.*

HART, CHARLES HENRY, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His *Testimony to Gen. William Beach Lawrence*; Spafford's early pamphlet on wheel carriages; and Caleb Cushing's article on the Republic of Central America, for the *Dana Davis* above.

HAYES, MRS. SAMUEL F., Worcester.—Twenty volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society's collections; twenty-four miscellaneous books; sixty pamphlets; and one manuscript.

HENSHAW, Miss HARRIET E., Leicester.—"The Orderly Book of Col. William Henshaw, with Memoir by Emory Washburn, Notes by Charles C. Smith, and Reminiscences of _____ in _____

HOLCOMBE, WM. FRED., M.D.

City.—Three selected pamphlets.

HOMES, HENRY A., LL.D.

Report of the Commission on the Index containing Dr. Homes's letter

ON THE ARMS OF NEW YORK
upon the subject.

HOWE, MR. E. G., Paxton.—
war manuscript of 1775.

pamphlets; one autograph; and a

HOWLAND, MR. HENRY J., W

ree pamphlets.

HUNTON, D. T. V., Esq
naming the streets of C)

reports on the Town Seal; and on

JACKSON, MR. JAMES, Paris,
ographies, Geographiques Spéc-

ils "Liste Provisoire de Biblio-

JILLMAN, HON. CLARK, Worcester

Modified Plagiarism."

JOHNSON, MR. T. B., Worcester.—
Nonsuige.

ment of the United States frigate

KELLEY, HON. FRANK H., Worcester.—Report of the Committee on an additional supply of water for Worcester in 1881.

LAMSON, REV. DANIEL F., Worcester.—The General Statutes of Massachusetts, 1807, and sixteen numbers of *Little's Living Age*.

LEE, WILLIAM H., Esq., New York.—His *Reminiscences of the Early Life of Ethel Barrett*.

LEVENWORTH, PROF. C. A., Dunellen, N. J.—His *Historical Papers*, numbers 4, 5 and 12.

MARBLE, SUPT. ALBERT P., Esq., Worcester.—His address to the Public School Teachers, Worcester, March 30, 1881.

MARCH, FRANCIS A., LL.D., Easton, Pa.—His address at the re-opening of Parker Hall, Lafayette College; and his A, B, C, Book.

MARVIN, REV. ABRAHAM P., Lancaster.—His *History of Worcester in the War*, new edition with additions and corrections.

MAY, REV. SAMUEL, Leicester.—Songs and Poems of the class of 1829, Harvard College, Part II. 1868-1881; and thirty-four pamphlets.

METCALF, CATHER B., Esq., Worcester.—Seventy-nine pamphlets; the *Christian Union* in continuation, and numbers of the *Nation* and the *Independent*.

NEILL, REV. EDWARD D., Minneapolis, Minn.—His *Minnesota Explorers and Pioneers from 1650 to 1858*.

NORTHROP, HON. B. G., New Haven, Conn.—His *Tree Planting, Forestry in Europe*, etc.; and seven of his educational pamphlets.

- PARKHURST, V. P., Esq., East Templeton.—A copy of the Proprietor's Plan of Narragansett No. 6 (Templeton), in 1735, made by Capt. Parkhurst.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His pamphlet on the Church's Year.
- PHILLIPS, HENRY, Jr., Ph. D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His Glimpse into the Past.
- PROUDFIT, Mr. S. V., Washington, D. C.—His Antiquities of the Missouri Bluffs.
- RICE, Mr. FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—The Records of the Proprietors of Worcester, Massachusetts, 1677-1788, edited by Mr. Rice.
- RICHARDSON, Col. GEORGE W., Saint John, N. B.—Eight pamphlets relating to New Brunswick.
- RIDER, SIDNEY S., Esq., Providence, R. I.—Two books; five pamphlets; and one photograph, all relating to Rhode Island history.
- RIORDAN, Mr. JOHN J., Worcester.—Four books.
- ROE, Mr. ALFRED S., Worcester.—His "Three April Days, 1689, 1775, 1861;" and forty-eight numbers of magazines.
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, Providence, R. I.—His Private Libraries of Providence, with a preliminary essay on the Love of Books.
- SALE, Mr. JOHN, Chelsea.—The Chelsea and Revere Directories for 1876 and 1878.
- SAVORD, Mr. H. G., Gloucester.—Twenty-seven Danish copper coins.
- SAVAGE, Mr. DANIEL J., Worcester.—A Harrison medal.
- SMITH, HENRY M., Esq., Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- SNOW, WOODMAN & Co., Messrs., Worcester.—The Worcester Illustrated Business Guide.
- STAPLES, Mr. SAMUEL E., Worcester.—One manuscript sermon; two newspapers; and one pamphlet.
- STARR, WILLIAM E., Esq., Worcester.—A supplement to the History of the Starr Family.
- STILSON, Rev. ARTHUR C., Secretary, Ottumwa, Iowa.—The Journal of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Iowa.
- STURGIS, Mrs. HENRY P., Boston.—One book; twenty-five pamphlets; and various circulars, handbills and cards.
- SWEETSER, Miss FANNY E., Worcester.—Five pamphlets; and one manuscript.
- TILLEY, Mr. R. H., Newport, R. I.—The Newport Historical Magazine for April, 1881.
- TITUS, Rev. ANSON, Jr., Weymouth.—His Titus Family in America for three generations.
- TURNER, ALFRED T., Esq., Auditor, Boston.—His Report as City Auditor, 1881.
- WASHBURN & MOEN MANUFACTURING COMPANY, Worcester.—Three of their publications on Telephone and Barb Fence Wire.
- WATERS, Mr. E. STANLEY, New York.—Mr. Choate's Tribute to Admiral Farragut.
- WELLS, Hon. WILLIAM H., Chicago, Ill.—His paper on the Spelling Reform.
- WHITCOMB, Mr. G. HENRY, Worcester.—Fourteen books; and forty pamphlets.

WITHERBY, RUGG & RICHARDSON, Messrs., Worcester.—The *Scientific American*, 1869-80; the *Manufacturer and Builder*, 1871-75; the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, 1869-80; and the *National Car Builder*, 1871-74.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—The *Proceedings*, Part I., for 1881.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Their *Proceedings*, Vol. XVI.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Their magazine, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The *Twenty-eighth Annual Report*.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their *Bulletin*, Nos. 6 of 1879, 3 and 5 of 1880, and 1 of 1881.

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Papers and *Proceedings of the Fourth General Meeting*, February 9-11, 1881.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Their *Proceedings*, May 18, 1881.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their *Proceedings*, No. 108.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C.—Their *Transactions*, 1880-81.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.—Papers of the Institute, *American series* No. 1; and the *Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee*.

ASTOR LIBRARY.—The *Thirty-second Annual Report*.

BOSTON MARINE SOCIETY.—Records of the Society, 1742-1842.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—Their *Journal*, as issued.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The *Twenty-ninth Annual Report*; the *Bulletin*, as issued; and George Lamb's map of Boston, about 1645.

COBDEN CLUB.—Five of their publications.

CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR, Brooklyn, N. Y.—An account of the Channing Centennial Celebration at Brooklyn, N. Y.

DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.—The *Proceedings*, Vol. II., Part II., and Vol. III., Part I.

ESSEX INSTITUTE.—The *Collections*, Vol. XVII., Nos. 3 and 4; Vol. XVIII., Nos. 1-3; *Bulletin*, Vol. XII., Nos. 10-12; and Vol. XIII., Nos. 1-6, and four of the Society's reprints.

FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON.—An account of the Celebration of its Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Anniversary Address by Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D., April 14, 1881.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The *Bulletin*, as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Their *Magazine of History and Biography*, as issued; and three numbers of the *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.—*Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth International Convention*.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.—Their *Transactions*, 1880-81.

- MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their proceedings in connection with the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Baltimore.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.**—Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.**—Their Proceedings, May 10 to September 14, 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.**—Their Transactions for 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Medical Communications, vol. XII., No. 7; and the Triennial Catalogue and Directory of 1881.
- MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR IDIOTIC AND FEEBLE-MINDED YOUTH.**—Two sets of the Reports of the School.
- MORSE INSTITUTE, Natick, Mass.**—The Report of 1881.
- MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY.**—The Forty-fourth Annual Catalogue.
- MUSEO NACIONAL DE MÉXICO.**—Annales, Tomo II., Entrega 4^a.
- NEW BEDFORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The New Bedford City Documents for 1878-81.
- NEW ENGLAND CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC.**—The Calendar for 1881-82.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Register, as issued.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Proceedings, Vol. VI., Nos. 3 and 4, second series.
- NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Inaugural Address of the President, February 21, 1881.
- NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Record, Vol. XII., No. 3.
- NEW YORK MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.**—The Sixtieth Annual Report.
- NUMISMATIC AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Report of the Committee on the date of the Landing in Pennsylvania, of William Penn.
- OHIO STATE LIBRARY.**—Twelve volumes of Ohio State Documents, 1879-80.
- PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.**—The Fourteenth Annual Report.
- PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.**—The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Trustees.
- PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY.**—The Bulletin of July, 1881.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.**—The Contributions, Vol. XXIII.; Collections, Vols. XVIII.-XXI.; Annual Report for 1879; Memorial of Joseph Henry; and Proceedings of the United States National Museum, 1881.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.**—Mémoires, Tome quarantième.
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ETHNOGRAPHIE, Paris.**—Actes, 1862-64 et 1874-75.
- SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.**—List of the Society, June 2, 1881; and Proceedings, Second Series, Vol. VIII., No. 4.
- SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.**—The Annual Report of 1881.
- TOLEDO PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Seventh Annual Report.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.**—Twenty-six volumes of the Congressional Documents of the 45th and 46th Congresses.

UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT.—Reports of the Secretary, 1871-80 and Navy Registers, 1872-80.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—The Life Saving Bureau Report of 1880; and six pamphlets from the Bureau of Education.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—The Chief Engineer's Report of 1880 three volumes; the Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, Vol. II.; Gen. Hazen's Instructions as to the Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, and Point Barrow; and Prof. Marsh's Monograph on the Extinct Toothed Birds of North America.

VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.—Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont, Vol. VIII.; and twelve of the State Documents.

WISCONSIN NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.—Their Annual Report for 1880-81

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty files of newspapers; and the Annual Report, 1881, with List of Officers and Members.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Sixty-one files of newspapers; and forty-four pamphlets.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—The New York Evening Post in continuation

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Their Publications, Nos. XII.-XIV. and Title Pages, Contents and Indexes to the Series.

YALE COLLEGE.—The Obituary Record, for the year ending June, 1881; and Yale College in 1881.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER.—Eighty-five pamphlets; and the Scientific American in continuation.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully submits his semi-annual report for the six months ending October 15, 1881.

Since the last meeting of the Society the Treasurer has received from Rev. E. K. Alden, D.D., one of the executors of the will of our late associate, Ebenezer Alden, M.D., the sum of one thousand dollars bequeathed to the Society, "as a permanent fund, to be kept safely invested, the income to be expended for the benefit of the library, especially in preparing catalogues." By a vote of the Council, the money received from this source has been placed in a separate fund, to be known as "The Alden Fund." It has also been safely invested, and the income will be appropriated for the purposes designed by the testator.

"The Tenney Fund" of five thousand dollars, has, under the direction of the Financial Committee, been invested in notes secured by mortgage of real estate.

The Salisbury Building Fund has been increased about eleven hundred dollars, by the sale of railroad stock, which brought that amount over the stated value at the date of the last report. Other repairs and improvements upon the building are in contemplation, the expense of which, by the approval of the founder, will be taken from this Fund.

The Publishing Fund is still inadequate to furnish sufficient income to meet the expense of our semi-annual publications. The cost of printing the last report and accompanying papers, not yet paid, is over four hundred dollars; this

to be deducted from the amount of the Fund as shown in the detailed statement.

The Treasurer cannot refrain from taking this opportunity to say a few words in relation to the great loss sustained by the Society in the death of Dr. Haven. All are well aware of the eminent services rendered the Society by our Librarian as an archæologist and historical scholar, but it may not be as generally known, that he was also interested in the minutest details of its practical and every-day work. He was especially interested in the condition of our finances, which he manifested in many ways. It was always his practice, before receiving from the Treasurer the moderate salary allowed him, to inquire by his payment any other creditors would be obliged to wait for their money, and if he even suspected the funds in the treasury were low, he would decline to receive, sometimes for months, the balance due him. That he had for a long time assumed a portion of the expense incurred for the salaries of our assistants, is known to those most actively interested in the administration of the affairs of the Society.

The writer of this report would here express his personal indebtedness to Dr. Haven for many acts of friendship and words of kind advice, and realizes that his death is a personal loss which will be long and keenly felt.

The following statement gives in detail the receipts and expenditures for the six months ending October 15, 1881, and also shows the present condition of the several Funds :

The Librarian's and General Fund.

1881, April 18.	Balance of Fund.....	\$31,541.20	
" Oct. 15.	Received interest and dividends to date..	867.00	
"	For Life Assessments.....	250.00	
"	Forty-seven Annual Assessments.....	235.00	
"	As a contribution to the Fund.	296.26	
		<hr/>	\$33,189.46
	Paid for salaries and incidental expenses.....	\$1,300.22	
"	Expenses of funeral of Dr. Haven (Librarian).....	296.26	1,686.48
1881, October 15.	Present amount of the Fund.....		<hr/> \$31,502.98

Invested as follows :

Bank Stock.....	\$9,400.00
Railroad Stock.....	1,800.00
Railroad Bonds.....	10,200.00
Mortgage Notes.....	10,000.00
Cash.....	102.98
	<hr/>
	\$31,502.98

The Collection and Research Fund.

1881, April 18. Balance of Fund.....	\$17,330.32
“ Oct. 15. Received for interest, etc., to date.....	589.50
“ “ “ “ “ Books sold.....	62.60
	<hr/>
	\$17,932.42

Paid part of Assistant-Librarian's salary.....	\$375.00
“ for Incidental Expenses.....	61.39
	<hr/>
	\$436.39

1881, October 15. Present amount of the Fund.....	\$17,496.03
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Invested as follows :

Bank Stock.....	\$6,500.00
Railroad Stock.....	5,300.00
Railroad Bonds.....	4,200.00
Worcester Gas Co. Stock.....	500.00
Cash.....	996.03
	<hr/>
	\$17,496.03

The Bookbinding Fund.

1881, April 18. Balance of Fund.....	\$6,178.24
“ Oct. 15. Received for interest, etc., to date.....	185.50
	<hr/>
	\$6,363.74

Paid part of salary of Assistant-Librarian.....	180.00
	<hr/>

1881, Oct. 15. Present amount of the Fund.....	\$6,183.74
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Invested as follows :

Bank Stock.....	\$2,000.00
Railroad Stock.....	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds.....	2,500.00
Cash.....	83.74
	<hr/>
	\$6,183.74

The Publishing Fund.

1881, April 18. Balance of Fund.....	\$9,120.25
“ Oct. 15. Received for interest, etc., to date.....	201.55
“ “ “ “ “ publications sold.....	45.25
	<hr/>
	\$9,367.05

Paid for printing Annual Report.....	425.90
	<hr/>

1881, October 15. Present amount of the Fund.....	\$8,941.15
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is to be deducted from the amount of the Fund as shown in the detailed statement.

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"	Forty-seven Annual Assessments.....	235.00	
"	As a contribution to the Fund.	296.26	
			\$33,189.46
	Paid for salaries and incidental expenses.....	\$1,390.22	
"	Expenses of funeral of Dr. Haven (Librarian).....	296.26	1,686.48
1881, October 15.	Present amount of the Fund.....		\$31,502.98

1881.]

Report of the Treasurer.

361

The Tenney Fund.

1881, October 15. Present amount of Fund..... \$5,000.00

Invested in :

Mortgage Notes..... \$5,000.00

The Alden Fund.

1881, October 15. Present amount of the Fund..... \$1,000.00

Invested in :

Railroad Bond..... \$1,000.00

Total of the ten Funds..... \$75,995.28

Cash on hand included in foregoing statement..... \$3,645 28 .

Respectfully submitted.

NATHL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 15, 1881.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 15, 1881, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched, and that the securities held by him for the several funds are as stated, and that the balance on hand is accounted for.

EDWARD L. DAVIS,
CHARLES A. CHASE,
Auditors.

WORCESTER, October 19, 1881.

ACTION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE DEATH OF SAMUEL F. HAVEN, LL.D.

At a meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society on September 6, 1881, the President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, said:

GENTLEMEN: We are met in sorrow and thankfulness to take notice of the death of our associate in the Council, and Librarian of the Society, Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., which occurred at his home in Worcester, on September 5, 1881, when his age was 75 years, three months and eight days. Within the three last years, in my official position, it was my happiness to take some part in the action of our Society in conferring distinguished honor on Dr. Haven on two occasions. In April, 1879, the Society placed the splendid portrait of Dr. Haven in the hall with expressions of high regard and gratitude. In April, 1881, I took leave of the office of Librarian on account of my increasing infirmities of age. The resignation was received with a cordial and grateful recognition of his services and heart and the required power was conferred on me by the Society. The office of Librarian afforded me the opportunity of rendering such assistance as I could as he might wish, and his continued presence and counsel in the Council were arrangements greatly to be desired and desirable and helpful for the Society. His long years had been cut off and the sad season has come when a fresh youth, where the young men were gathered. As it is proper to place some record of expression of our united sentiments, I can say that we are all

conscious that we saw with a submissive spirit, that an excellent service to this Society and to the world has been forever lost, and that Dr. Haven could not remain to sustain

us in our duties here by his wisdom and his example. We rejoice that he accomplished so much for the growth and usefulness of this Society and for historical learning, and that when his bodily frame was too much worn for continued success, he was removed without pain through "the gate of life," as we believe, to other and better opportunities of activity and improvement. It is a wise and kind providence that one generation passeth away and another generation cometh.

Voted, That Dr. Haven, after a faithful collegiate and legal education, in 1838 entered on his duty here as a librarian, which was then a field without metes and bounds. He made his own sphere. Under his intelligence and his growing experience the library became alive. The books were social to each other, and attractive and instructive to those who could profit by them. The interesting and valuable writings contributed for the Proceedings, which have excited the activity of members, and have given character, influence and usefulness to the Society, were, in a good degree, the fruit of his persuasive example.

Voted, That we regard Dr. Haven as a model historian, in the clearness of his statements and the gracefulness of his narratives. His sensitive spirit and his active imagination never controlled his pen. He enjoyed a flight of fancy, but he was obedient to truth.

Voted, That our personal relations to Dr. Haven in our official duties are fitted to excite tender memories of past friendship, and anxious consideration of our privation in the future. In 1838, when this Society received as members our vice-president, George Bancroft, LL.D., Samuel F. Haven, LL.D., and Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., a great accession of honor and strength and responsibility was gained by the Society. In 1855 Dr. Haven became a member of the Council, and introduced an earnestness and enthusiasm of work which his associates could not resist, and we deeply regret that we can lean on this arm of strength no more.

Voted, That the Council will attend the funeral of Dr. Haven, and we invite members of our Society to join us in this expression of affectionate regard and honor.

Voted, That a copy of these votes in relation to our lamented associate shall be presented to Mrs. Haven, with the offer of our heartfelt sympathy.

Hon. Isaac Davis moved the adoption of the resolutions.

* Colonel John D. Washburn said :

MR. PRESIDENT : If it is becoming for one of the younger members of the Council to add anything to what you have so well said in the resolutions before us, I will, in seconding the motion for their adoption, say a single word.

Dr. Haven's position in our community was absolutely unique. In the midst of all its bustling activities, he devoted his entire life to scholarship alone. His career among us was a pure ideal. "Aloof from the sordid occurrences of life and unsullied by its intercourse," he gave all the energies of a broad and far-reaching mind to liberal studies. In these he found a joy which never for a moment failed, and in his eminence in them, we, who were privileged to enjoy his friendship and intimate companionship, found a growing and constant pride.

Most of his local associates to whom these studies are dear, are yet implicated to some extent at least in schemes for our own or our city's material growth and prosperity. It was his high privilege, in the exemptions and opportunities he enjoyed, to advance the reputation of the scholarship of our community, bearing its standard so far aloft that it was seen and recognized and respected among the lovers of historic learning throughout the world. A lofty aim ! A grand attainment ! Well may they challenge, in this solemn hour, the tribute of our grateful and affectionate admiration.

Amid all this accomplishment, he bore himself with a modesty and personal reserve which made him always a stranger to the multitude. Comparatively few of the jostling crowd that throng our streets knew him even by sight, as he walked among them. His voice, so persuasive and fascinating to the scholar's ear, was never heard from the public platform. Beyond that of member of the school committee, I do not know that he ever held a public office. Among the banks, the factories, the countless industries which have made this community perhaps the best and most

prosperous in the world, his name was seldom spoken, neighbor and well-wisher though he was to all. Yet, with all this modesty, in the self-respecting dignity of high scholarly attainments, he walked always on the higher planes, and Learning's self bowed with uncovered head as he passed along.

And so, through the whole of a long, laborious life, he was accumulating stores which he could carry beyond its narrow bound. So far as I know, he gave literally no time to gathering together what must be left behind when the real life begins. Fitting himself always for the future companionship of the great and wise, the perfect flower of human time, he accepted the scanty compensations of the office he adorned as the ministers to passing physical necessity, and piled all his wealth beyond. Reverently, as befits the scholar; industriously, as laying the foundation of a structure which was to stand forever; patiently, as the heavy hand of infirmity was laid upon him in his later days; hopefully, as looking for a future of higher life and ampler opportunity, he moved through time and entered the portals of eternity.

Not too sadly should we mourn for him. Nay, rather in the midst of sorrow, is it permitted us to rejoice in these abiding consolations: that he has at last laid down the burden which oppressed, that already, as we believe, he has entered on greater offices, that his pure spirit needed no day of purgation from the dross of a sordid life, but that on his very entrance,

"The great Intelligences fair
That range above our mortal state,
In circles round the blessed gate,
Received and gave him welcome there;
And led him through the blissful climes,
And showed him in the fountain fresh,
All knowledge that the sons of flesh
Shall gather in the cycled times."

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF THE STATES OF THE UNION.

BY HAMILTON B. STAPLES.

I HAVE the honor to lay before the Society a series of notes, the result of a limited research, upon the origin of the names of the States of the Union. I was led to suppose the subject might prove interesting from the circumstance that, some time ago, it had attracted the attention of the Society as a fit subject of investigation, but for some reason definite inquiry has been prosecuted. I regret that in respect to the origin of the names of several States, my paper will simply present an array of conflicting authorities. I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the acting-librarian of the Society, and to Mr. Green, the accomplished librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester, for the means to prosecute these inquiries.

In considering the subject, it will be convenient to divide the States into groups, starting with the original thirteen States, as the first group, and in respect to this group, to refer to the States in the order of the coast line from North to South.

The origin of the name of New Hampshire is very simple. The original territory conveyed by patent of the Plymouth Company to John Mason in 1629, was named by him after Hampshire County in England.

The life of Massachusetts, as an autonomic State, begins with the charter of 1691, which merged into one province the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay jurisdictions and also the Province of Maine. The present name of the State is derived from the Bay of that name. In fact, the word "Bay" was a part of the name of the younger colony which

alone had received a charter from the Crown, and was retained in the name of the new province, and afterwards in the name of the State, till the Constitution of 1780 went into operation. The Massachusetts Bay received its name from the Massachusetts Indians who peopled its shores at the time of John Smith's visit in 1614. The word Massachusetts is an Anglicized plural of Massachusett, meaning "at or near the great hills," "at or near the great hill country," from massa "great," wadchu (in composition) adchu—plural wadchuash "mountains" or "hills," and the suffix et "at or near." This analysis of the name is that given by Dr. Trumbull in his learned treatise on Indian names.

The origin of the name of Rhode Island is quite obscure. A writer in the *Providence Journal*, over twenty years ago, in regard to the Aquetneck Island afterwards Rhode Island, from which the State derived its name, says—

"How and for what reason it received the name Rhode Island is a disputed and obscure question. Some ancient authors write the name Island of Rhodes. * * * Some have believed that the name was to be derived from the Dutch Roode Eylandt, which signifies Red Island, and which the first Dutch explorers of the Bay sometimes gave to the Island. * * * Others have written the name Rod Island. Perhaps it could also be Road Island (the Island of the Roadstead or harbor island), because the real and authentic origin and beginning of the name appears to be so uncertain. I also find that in the early history of the State, persons of the family name Rhodes are also mentioned. Could not one Mr. Rhodes have been among the first English settlers?" Mr. Schoolcraft in his history of the Indian Tribes, adopts the Dutch origin of the name. Mr. Arnold in a note to his valuable History of Rhode Island says, "The derivation of this name has given rise to much discussion; by what strange fancy this Island was ever supposed to resemble that of Rhodes on the coast of Asia

Minor, is difficult to imagine, and it is equally strange that the tradition that it was named from such resemblance should be transmitted or be believed unless indeed because it is easier to adopt a geographical absurdity than to investigate an historical point." Mr. Arnold then goes on to say that the celebrated Dutch navigator, Adrian Block, who gave his name to Block Island, sailed into Narragansett Bay "where he commemorated the fiery aspect of the place, caused by the red clay in some portion of its shores, by giving it the name of Roode Eylandt, the Red Island, and by easy transposition, Rhode Island." In support of the theory that the State *was* named after the island in the Mediterranean Sea, we have the authority of Peterson's History of Rhode Island. We have also the commanding authority of the public act by which the name was given. From Vol. I., p. 127, of the Rhode Island Colonial Records we make this extract: "At the Generall Court of Election held at Nuport 13. Jan. 1644. It is ordered by this Court that the ysland commonly called Aquethneck shall be from henceforth called the Isle of Rhodes or Rhode Island." The form of this vote introducing the Isle of Rhodes first is opposed to all the theories of the origin of the name except that which refers it to the island in the Mediterranean. It is stated by Mr. Hildreth that the name as given to the island by the purchasers was the Isle of Rhodes and that it was afterwards called Rhode Island. When we consider that Sir Henry Vane was instrumental in the purchase of the island from the Indians, we are at no loss to account for a name which displays an historical imagination.

The name Connecticut spelled Quin-neh-tukqut signifies "land on a long tidal river." The name is so spelled in Cotton's Vocabulary, and in the Cambridge Records it appears as Quinetuckquet. This explanation rests upon the authority of Dr. Trumbull.

The territory of the imperial State of New York was comprised in the royal grant to the Duke of York in 1664,

of all the land "from the west side of the Connecticut river to the east side of the Delaware Bay." In 1664, the Duke fitted out an expedition which took possession of New Amsterdam, and the place was thereafter called New York, in honor of the Duke. The same name was applied to the State. By a strange caprice of history the greatest State in the Union bears the name of the last and the most tyrannical of the Stuarts.

The State of New Jersey, granted by the Duke of York to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley in 1664, received its name in the grant in commemoration of the brave defence of the Isle of Jersey by Carteret then its Governor, against the Parliamentary forces in the great Civil War.

Pennsylvania owes its name to its founder, William Penn. The name given by Penn himself was Sylvania, but King Charles II. insisted that the name of Penn should be prefixed. It is the only State in the Union named after its founder.

The counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex "upon Delaware," granted by the Duke of York to Penn in 1682, were known as the territories of Pennsylvania. In 1701, Penn granted them a certain autonomy. The State was named after the bay of that name, and the bay after Lord De-la-war who explored it. It has been claimed that the bay and the river were named after the Delaware Indians, who in 1600 dwelt upon their shores. This claim is unfounded. The Delaware name for the river was Lenapeh-ittuk, meaning Lenape river.

Maryland was settled under a charter granted in 1632 by King Charles I. to Lord Baltimore. The State was named after Queen Henrietta Maria. In the charter the country is called "*Terra Mariæ*; Anglice, Maryland."

The first step in the colonization of America by England was the charter granted in 1584 by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh. Under this charter Raleigh took

possession of the country west of the Roanoke, and called it Virginia in honor of the Virgin Queen. This is the only State in the Union whose name appears in literature, associated with the royal title. Spenser dedicated the Faerie Queene to "Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland and of Virginia." The nearest approach to this in a public act is the order of the English Privy Council to the Virginia Colony after the Revolution of 1688 to proclaim William and Mary as "Lord and Lady of Virginia."

The name of West Virginia, a new State formed within the jurisdiction of Virginia, needs no separate consideration.

North Carolina and South Carolina may be considered under one head. Allen in his History of Kentucky ascribes the origin of the name Carolina to the French settlers of Port Royal, who named it after Charles the Ninth of France, and this is the popular impression, but there is reason to question its accuracy. In the charter of Carolina granted to the Lords Proprietors by Charles II. in 1663, the name of Carolina is recognized. More than thirty years before Charles I. had granted a tract of territory south of the Chesapeake to Sir Robert Heath, naming it Carolana after himself. This grant became forfeited by non-user. The name, however, so given to the territory was doubtless revived in the new charter of 1663. It would not be a pleasant reflection that two States of the Union derived their names from the king who commanded the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The name of Georgia, after King George II., was by the terms of the charter conferred upon the territory granted to the company organized by Oglethorpe in 1732.

We now come to a group of States which at the time of the Revolution were outlying districts, belonging to certain States. These districts were Maine, belonging to Massachusetts; Vermont, claimed both by New York and by New

Hampshire; Kentucky, belonging to Virginia, and Tennessee, belonging to North Carolina.

The origin of the names of these States will now be considered. Maine owes its name to its being supposed to be the main or chief portion of the New England territory. The origin of the name is disclosed in an extract from the grant of Charles I. to Sir Fernando Gorges, in 1639, confirmatory of a patent given by the Plymouth Company in 1622, which grant the grandson of Gorges, through John Usher, assigned to the Massachusetts Bay Colony "all that Parte, Purparte and Porcon of the Mayne Lande of New England aforesaid, beginning att the entrance of Pascatway Harbor" (then follows the description), "all which said Part, Purpart or Porcon of the Mayne Lande and all and every the premises hereinbefore named wee doe for us, our heires and successors create and incorporate into one Province or Countie. And we doe name, ordeyne, and appoynt that the Porcon of the Mayne Lande and Premises aforesaide shall forever hereafter bee called and named The Province or Countie of Mayne."

The territory of Vermont was so named from the French words *verd mont*, "Green Mountain," the "d" being dropped in composition. The legal history of the name is a curious one. At a convention of the people held at Westminster January 15, 1777, it was declared that the district was a State "to be forever hereafter called, known and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut alias Vermont." The convention met by adjournment July 2d, 1777, and having, in the meantime, ascertained that the name of New Connecticut had been already applied to a district on the banks of the Susquehanna it was declared that instead of New Connecticut, the State should "ever be known by the name of Vermont." Hall in his "Early History of Vermont," appendix No. 9, claims that the words "alias Vermont" did not belong in the name as adopted in January and that they must have been inconsiderately added to the

journal, or an early copy of it, by way of explanation after the name Vermont had been adopted in lieu of New Connecticut and afterwards in transcribing, erroneously taken as a part of the original." Mr. Hall gives various reasons in support of this claim. One is the improbability, not to say the absurdity, that the convention should have given two names to the State. But is there not a strong presumption in favor of the correctness of public records, and against the mutilation of the journal. Another reason adduced by Mr. Hall, is, that in the remainder of the journal the new State is twice called New Connecticut alone. This reason seems to possess very little force. Another reason given is that Ira Allen, a member of the January convention, in his history inserts what purports to be the first named declaration with the name of New Connecticut only. This might well be in a history written after the name Vermont was resolved on and giving only the substance of the first name. In opposition to Mr. Hall's theory the words are found in Shale's State Papers, page 70, in Williams's History of Vermont, and in a manuscript copy of the journal of the convention, the original being lost, in the possession of James H. Phelps. Further, all accounts concur that the name of Vermont was given to the State by Dr. Thomas Young, and we find a letter of his dated 11 April, 1777, addressed to "the inhabitants of Vermont, a free and independent State," which implies that at that date the State had already received its name of Vermont, although under an alias.

In respect to the name of Kentucky there is ample room for controversy. Allen in his History of Kentucky says it was named "from its principal river which is an Indian name for 'dark and bloody ground.'" Moulton in his History of New York says "Kentuckee signifies 'river of blood.'" In Hayward's History of Tennessee, General Clark is the authority for the assertion that in the Indian language, Kentuke signifies "River of blood." Ramsey in

his History of Tennessee alludes to the name of Kentucky as signifying "the dark and bloody land." In Johnson's Cyclopædia the name is given as signifying "the dark and bloody ground." In opposition to all this it appears from Johnson's "Account of the present state of the Indian tribes of Ohio"—Transactions American Antiquarian Society, vol. I., page 271—that Kentucky is a Shawanoese or Shawnoese word signifying "at the head of a river," that the Kentucky river was in former times often used by the Shawanoese in their migrations north and south, and hence the whole country took its name. This theory of the name is quoted approvingly in Gallatin's Synopsis of Indian tribes.—Transactions American Antiquarian Society, vol. II. Mr. Higginson in his Young Folks' History says, the name first applied to the river means "the Long River." It lessens the weight of the authorities first cited that some of them connect the evil signification of the word with land, and some with water. It is also highly improbable that a name clothed with associations of terror should be adopted as the civic designation of a people. On the whole it may be safely asserted that the weight of the evidence is in favor of the more peaceful origin of the name.

Tennessee formed a part of the grant of the Carolinas. Its name is derived from its principal river though formerly the name Tennessee did not apply to the main river, but to one of the small southerly branches thereof. There is authority for saying that the name of the river was derived from the village of Tanasse, the chief village of the Cherokee tribe, and situated on its bank. Hayward, in his "Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee," attempts to trace the origin of the name Tanasse as an Indian river name to the ancient river Tánais, and on this discovery, as well as on other similar resemblances, he founds the argument that the ancient Cherokees migrated from the western part of Asia. Mr. Allen claims that the name is derived from an Indian

name signifying "a curved spoon," and there is authority for still another derivation from an Indian word signifying "a bend in the river," in allusion to the course of the river. I am not aware that in either case the Indian word has been given, nor is it believed that any such word exists.

There is a third group of States, comprising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, wholly formed from the territory of New France, ceded by France to England in 1763, relinquished by England to the United States by the treaty of 1783 and finally ceded by Virginia, which had acquired it by right of conquest in the Revolution, to the United States in 1783. The origin of the names of these States will now be considered.

Ohio is named after the beautiful river, its southern boundary. From Johnson's Account of the Indian Tribes, the word Ohio as applied to the river in the Wyandot language is O-he-zuh, signifying "something great." The name was called by the Senecas, dwelling on the shores of Lake Erie, the Ohèo. Mr. Schoolcraft observes that the termination io in Ohio implies admiration. On the old French maps the name is sometimes "the Ochio," and sometimes "the Oyo."

Indiana derives its name from one of the old ante-Revolutionary land companies which had claims in that region.

The State of Illinois is named from its principal river, the Illinois. The river is named from the confederacy of Indian tribes called the Illinois Confederacy which had its seat in the central part of the State. Gallatin gives the definition of the word Illinois, "real men," "superior men," from the Delaware word, Leno, Leni, Illin, Illini, as it is variously written. The termination ois is that by which the French softened the local inflexion when they adopted an Indian word.

Lanman in his "Red Book of Michigan," derives the name of that State from the Indian word Michsaugyegan, signifying Lake Country. Johnson's Cyclopædia derives

the name from the Indian words Mitchi, Saugyegan, meaning Lake Country. I regard this as a questionable derivation. There are good reasons for supposing that the State derived its name from Lake Michigan, and not from its being nearly enclosed by lakes. If the word Michigan signifies Lake Country, why should it have been applied to the Lake at all? In support of the theory that the name Michigan was descriptive, signifying "great lake," and was first given to the lake, I call attention to the fact that on the earliest maps the lake bears the name, while the peninsula, both upper and lower, has no name whatever.

Besides, the name as applied to the lake, has a simple Indian derivation. The Algonquin races, at the head of which was the Chippewa tribe, dwelt on the northwestern shores of the lake. In the old Algonquin language the syllable "gan" meant lake. In the Chippewa language, "mitcha" meant "great." In this connection let me quote a passage from an article in the *North American Review*, Vol. XXII., on Indian Language. "This word Meesee or Meechee (which has been before explained to mean great), for it is differently pronounced in different places, is found in Michigan, Missouri, and in many other names."

Wisconsin was named after its principal river. Until quite a recent period the river was called the Ouisconsin, which is said to mean "westward flowing." Ouis is evidently shortened from the French "ouest." Mr. Schoolcraft says, that "locality was given in the Algonquin by 'ing,' meaning at, in, or by, — as Wiscons-ing." The name is probably of mixed origin.

There is a group of States formed entirely out of the territory ceded by France to the United States in 1803. These are Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa.

The name of Louisiana, now confined to a State of the Union, was originally given to the entire French possessions on the west bank of the Mississippi, by La Salle, in 1682, in honor of Louis XIV.

The State of Arkansas takes its name from its principal river; the river from the tribe of Indians formerly living near its mouth. Till quite a recent period the river was called the Akansas, and the tribe the Akansas tribe.

Mr. Schoolcraft says that both the names Arkansas and Missouri embrace aboriginal roots, but we hear the sounds as modified by French orthoepy and enunciation. The same author farther relates that there is a species of acacia found in Arkansas, from which the Indians, on the arrival of the French, made for themselves bows. It is light yellow, solid and flexible. "This is thought to have led to the appellation of Arc or Bow Indians." As they belonged to the Kansa race, and had lately separated from them, that term would naturally be adopted by the French as the generic name.

In the Contributors' Club of the Atlantic Monthly, May, 1881, in reference to the name Arkansas, occurs this curious passage, "Does not the name come from the arc-en-sang of the early French traders, its likeness to Kansas being accidental? Whether the bloody bow was a special weapon like the medicine bow that gave its name to a creek, mountain range, and railway station, in Wyoming, or the bloody bows were a band like the Sans Arcs, cannot now be determined."

The State of Missouri was named from the river of that name, and the river itself from the Missouris, a tribe once living near its mouth, and afterwards driven into the interior. There is another theory in respect to the name of the river that it is descriptive. Col. Higginson in his *Young Folks' History*, says, Missouri means "muddy water." The Dakotahs called the Missouri Minneshoshay, "muddy water," a word which might easily become Missouri. In an article on Indian Migrations, by Lewis H. Morgan, in the *North American Review*, vol. CX., it is stated as a matter of tradition that the Kansas Indians were formerly established on the banks of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, and

that they called the Missouri Ne-sho-ja "the muddy river," a name in which the present name can be traced.

The State of Iowa is named from the river of that name, and the river from the Ioway Indians, who after many migrations settled on its banks. In the same article in the *Atlantic Monthly* to which I have already alluded, it is intimated that the name Ioway is contracted from Ah-hee-oo-ba, meaning "sleepers," which perhaps explains why the Sioux nearly extirpated them.

The State of Texas formerly Spanish territory, then Mexican, and later an independent State is the only State acquired by annexation. There is a conflict of opinion as to the origin of its name. Johnson's *Cyclopædia*, article Texas, states that "it is now proved conclusively to be of Indian derivation, the generic title of numerous tribes known to La Salle on his visit in 1685." On Seale's map, 1750, the centre of the territory is occupied by Indians called the Tepas which may be the generic title referred to. But Mr. Bryant in his *History of the United States*, vol. II., page 518, note, says "It is supposed that the name Texas is from the Spanish Tejas in allusion to the covered houses" found by La Salle on his visit in 1685. In Morphis' *History of Texas*, the name is given as of doubtful origin. He states in substance that some refer the name to the capital village of the Nassonite tribe, others refer it to the Spanish word "tejer" to weave, in reference to placing the grass over the cottages, others from "tejas" meaning "cobwebs," the account being that the Spaniards encamped in an expedition into the country, and one morning the commander seeing many spider webs between himself and the rising sun exclaimed "Mira las tejas!" and named the land Texas. It will be observed that this author in respect to one explanation of the name, lends support to Mr. Bryant's supposition. The cobweb theory may well be dismissed as legendary.

There are two States of the Union formed of territory ceded to the United States by Spain in 1819. By this

treaty the United States ceded to Spain the part of what is now Kansas, lying south of the Arkansas river and west of the one hundredth degree of west longitude, also the part of what is now Colorado, lying south of the same river and west of a line drawn from its source due north to the forty-second degree of north latitude, also the territory lying south of the said parallel of latitude as extended from the end of the said north line west to the Pacific Ocean, and the United States acquired Florida and all the Spanish territory north and east of the above described lines. Thus the United States acquired the Spanish title to Oregon founded on its discovery by that power about thirty-five years before Sir Francis Drake sailed up the Pacific Coast.

The origin of the name of Florida is a matter of general agreement among historians. The story of Ponce de Leon sailing to the West in 1512 in search of the fountain of youth, seeing land on Pascua Florida or "Flowery Easter" and on account of its profusion of flowers naming it Florida is familiar to all.

The name of Oregon was at first applied to the Columbia river, then to the territory and lastly to the State. The origin of the name is conjectural. The earliest printed mention of it is in Carver's travels in 1763. Carver explored the sources of the Mississippi river, and states that by his residence among the Indians, especially the Sioux, he obtained a general knowledge of the situation of the river Oregon or "the river of the West that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Anian." By that which he calls the Oregon the sources of which he placed not far from the head waters of the Missouri, he may have referred to some one of the sources of the Missouri or to one of the two rivers which, rising in the Rocky Mountains, formed the principal eastern tributaries of the Oregon. Carver was misled as to the locality of the river of the West and the supposed sources of it he may have

confounded with the sources of the Missouri or of one of the tributaries in question. But this much the publication of his travels accomplished, the establishment of a belief in the existence of a great river emptying into the Pacific Ocean. He designated by the name Oregon a great river flowing into the Pacific and when in after times such a river was discovered the name was ready at hand.

To illustrate the obscurity of our knowledge on this point we quote a passage from an article in the *North American Review*, vol. XLVIII., on "Nautical discovery in the Northwest." The writer says:

"We wish that Mr. Worcester, or Mr. Bradford or some scholar in the Western States, distinguished like those gentlemen for geographical science, would explain the origin of this word Oregon, which so far as we know is not satisfactorily settled. Mr. Darby in his *Gazetteer* traces the name to the Spanish *Orégan* for the 'sweet marjoram' growing on the banks of the river. But to this is a serious objection that the name Oregon does not seem so far as we remember to have been in use among the Spaniards. And as there are and have been no settlers of that nation upon the river, how should their word for wild marjoram come to designate the river? Humboldt speaks of 'le mot indien *Orégan*.' Of what Indian is it the word? Not of those living on the Columbia. Humboldt also talks of the *Orégan de MacKenzie*, but MacKenzie did not introduce the word. We find it in Carver's travels, 1763, and that is the oldest authority for it which has met our eye."

Perhaps it is vain in the languages of the Indians of the Upper Mississippi to search for the source of this name. Like other Indian names, it is doubtless descriptive of a river of which those Indians had received distant and perhaps fabulous accounts.

There are two States of the Union, California and Nevada, formed wholly of territory originally Spanish and acquired from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The name of California appears to have been taken from a Spanish

romance, *Las Sergus de Esplandian*, in which is described "the great island of California where a great abundance of gold and precious stones is found." This worthless romance was published in 1510, and generally read. Probably the name of California engaged the fancy of some of the officers of Cortes, and was given by them to the country discovered by him in 1535. It is strange that the name accidentally given should have proved so exactly descriptive. The origin of the name is the subject of a very attractive paper by Rev. Dr. Hale in vol. IV., *Transactions of this Society*.

The State of Nevada takes its name from the Sierra Nevada Mountains, which line its western frontier, the mountains in their turn being named from the Sierra Nevadas of Granada which they are said to resemble in the serrated line of their summits.

There remains a group of States of a composite origin. Minnesota, formed in part from the northwest territory, ceded by Virginia, and in part from the Louisiana cession; Nebraska, acquired in part by the French cession of 1803, and in part by the Spanish treaty of 1819, confirmed by the Mexican treaty of 1848; Kansas, ceded in part by France, in part by Spain and in part by Texas; Colorado, ceded in part by Spain, in part by Mexico and in part by Texas; Alabama, ceded to the United States by South Carolina, by Georgia and by Spain, and Mississippi, ceded to the United States by Georgia except a small southern portion successively occupied by France, Spain and Great Britain and at last taken possession of by the United States. The origin of the names of these States claims a brief notice.

Minnesota is named from the Minnesota or St. Peter's river, the principal tributary to the Mississippi within its limits. The Indian word is *Mini-sotah*, signifying "slightly turbid water," or as the Minnesota historian more fancifully puts it, "sky-tinted water."

Nebraska is named from the Nebraska river. A writer in the *North American Review*, vol. LXXXVII., on "the Missouri Valley" says the word is Indian and is compounded of nee, "river," and braska, "shallow." Morgan in his article on Indian Migrations, *North American Review*, vol. CIX., says "the name of the Platte river in the Kaw dialect is Ne-blas-ka, signifying 'over-spreading flats with shallow water.'" Dr. Hale says the name undoubtedly refers to the flatness of the country.

The State of Kansas is named from its principal river. The latter is named from the tribe of Indians, called the Konzas, who lived upon its shores. Mr. Schoolcraft uses the name Kasas to designate the tribe. De Soto marched southerly from the northern limit of his expedition in search of a rich province, called Cayas. This points to the original name of the tribe, the Kaws. The present name has therefore an Indian root varied by French orthoepey.

Colorado is named after the great Rio Colorado which rises in the Rocky Mountains and falls into the Gulf of California. The name signifies in Spanish "ruddy," "blood red," in a secondary sense "colored," in allusion to the color of its waters. The river is not within the limits of the State, and only belongs to it by some of its tributaries.

The State of Mississippi is named after the great river. Mr. Atwater, a member of this Society, gives the Indian name of the river Meesysseepee, "the great water." That the Indian word signifies the "father of waters" is clearly erroneous. According to Mr. Gallatin's synopsis of Indian tribes, "Missi" never means "father," but "all"—"whole." The word "sipi" means in the Chippewa "river." Thus the words united mean "the whole river," because many streams unite to form it.

In considering the name of Alabama we go back to the expedition of De Soto in 1541. His last battle was at Alibamo on the Yazoo river. This was the famous fortress

of the brave tribe sometimes called the Alibamons, and sometimes the Alabamas. Le Clerc who resided in the Creek nation twenty years and wrote a history published in Paris in 1802, says that the Alabamos came to the Yazoo from the north part of Mexico, and that after the battle with De Soto they removed to the river which now bears their name, that they are the same people as the Alibamos who fought De Soto. Pickett in his *History of Alabama* states that "from these people, the river, and state took their names." Allen's *History of Kentucky* says Alabama is an Indian name signifying "here we rest." Mr. Schoolcraft says cautiously that the name has been interpreted "here we rest." We have not been able to discover anything very restful in the history of the Alabamos, which is one of migrations. Mr. Meeks, a good authority in that State, thinks that the word Alaba is only the name Hillaba the Ullibahallee of De Soto, a theory at variance with that of Le Clerc and referring the origin of the name to a different tribe.

In Mr. Pinkerton's *Geography* in 1804 occurs this striking passage: "The great country of Louisiana, now ceded to the United States, will doubtless at no very distant period, be divided into several distinct States, and in giving names to these the Americans will have an opportunity of manifesting their veneration for, and their gratitude to, some of the illustrious men who first discovered the countries of the new world, or have contributed to its freedom and happiness." It is not pleasant to reflect that so far this opportunity has been lost and this hope disappointed. There is no State of the Union which bears the name of Cabot, or of Coronado, or of De Soto, or of La Salle. And there is Father Marquette whose form rises before us, dazzling and immortal as we open the pages of our early history. We recall the poetic rendering of his last words, which sum up his glorious life,

as he expires in a lonely hovel on the shores of Lake Michigan :

“ As God shall will, what matters where
A true man's cross shall stand
So heaven be o'er it, here as there
In pleasant Norman land.

‘Urbs Sion mystica’ I see
Its mansions passing fair
Conditæ coelo, let me be
Dear Lord a dweller there.”

Was there no State to feel itself honored, to be called after his name? But the wrong may yet be righted. In the naming of the new States which yet remain to be formed from our Western domain, the last opportunity will be given to do justice to these great discoverers, and it would be a graceful and appropriate office of this Society, as cases arise, to exert its influence by correspondence with the local authorities, and by memorial to Congress in favor of rendering to them even at this late day this exalted tribute.

HUMERUS, FOUND AT CONCORD, MASS.

LETTER FROM EDWARD S. HOAR, OF CONCORD, MASS.

ABOUT three years ago, the Lowell Railroad cutting through Lee's hill, between the Squaw and Assabet rivers in Concord, Mass., uncovered two skulls and other bones, which were carried away by several people. A few days after a young lady observed projecting from the side of the cutting about two feet below the surface of the ground the bone herewith submitted. I can find no monument, record or tradition, either in Shattuck's history of Concord or elsewhere of any interment near that spot since the settlement of the town. But it is well established that there was the headquarters of Squaw Sachem and Tahattawan, the chieftains who ceded Concord to the whites. This humerus is remarkable for two reasons :

First, it is perforated just above the elbow. Professor Edward S. Morse in the June '81 *North American* says, "the per centage of perforated humeri in the white race is very low. Of fifty-two humeri examined by Wyman, only two were perforated. In the present Indian and Negro this peculiarity occurs more frequently, and in the prehistoric races of America it is very common. Wyman found in a Florida mound thirty-one per cent. perforated, while Gillman estimates the percentage of perforated humeri in a Michigan mound, as at least fifty per cent. He has also pointed out the interesting fact that these low humeri are associated with excessively flattened tibiae."

Secondly, this humerus is broken in two in the middle, and the upper or shoulder end is missing. Now, Prof. Gillman it is, I think, who reports to the Smithsonian or the Boston Natural History Society, or both, that all the

humeri of the mound-builders in Michigan are broken in the same way, and the upper end gone. So there seems to be a connecting bond of usage between those prehistoric and mysterious people, the mound-builders, and our Eastern Indians. This is a slender bone and may have belonged to Squaw Sachem herself or one of her five daughters, or may belong to a period before the arrival of the whites.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S NEW ENGLAND ANCESTRY.

BY HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

THIS Society has never given much prominence to genealogies, although its collections contain and preserve so much family history. Indeed, our late accomplished librarian, while aiding with his unfailing courtesy persons seeking information on such subjects, met them, when they talked of their own pedigree, with a certain dry cynicism which must have often inclined them to say of him as Hector says of his uncle the Antiquary :

“ Very hard this, that he will speak with such glee of every thing that is ancient, except my family.”

But our proceedings seem to be the most proper place for putting on record a brief history of the ancestors of the President who bore his name, six generations of whom lived in Middlesex and Worcester counties from 1630 until after the close of the Revolutionary War. It is a simple and noble story.

The President took a very deep interest in his relationship to Massachusetts. His father died when he was an infant, and his grandfather when his father was an infant. He had understood from family tradition that his great-grandfather, Solomon Garfield, married Sarah Stimson and emigrated from Middlesex County to New York. There his information ended, until early in 1876, while spending a Sunday in Massachusetts, he found in Bond's History the descent of Solomon Garfield from Edward, one of the early settlers of Watertown. In the summer of 1880 the graves of his ancestors were discovered in the hill burying-ground at Lincoln, and the house built and occupied by them identified. The President was much pleased with the discovery,

and several times, during the spring, expressed, quite eagerly, his desire to visit the scenes of his family history. When Mrs. Garfield's illness compelled him to abandon a great portion of his scheme for visits in Connecticut and Massachusetts, he still maintained his purpose of making a pilgrimage to Williams College, and to the old homes of the Garfields. As is well known, he had set out upon this journey, his first recreation from thirteen weeks of herculean labor and care, when he was struck down. It seems to me a pious duty to preserve these facts, many of which were gathered for the sake of rendering his visit to Middlesex and Worcester agreeable to him.

If Bond is correct there were two Edward Garfields, father and son, who both died on the same day, June 14, 1672, the father at the age of 97. They probably came over with Winthrop and were among the first settlers of Watertown in 1630. *Edward Garfield, Jr.*, was admitted freeman May 16th, 1635, and was selectman in 1638, 1655 and 1662. His will and inventory are in the Middlesex records. He was one of the earliest proprietors, a grantee of eight lots and purchaser of four lots before 1644. He had thirty acres set to him in the division dated July 25th, 1636. About 1650 he purchased of the heirs of Rev. Mr. Phillips a lot of forty acres, since well known as the Governor Gore place or Copley Greene place. His residence was a six-acre lot about half a mile northeasterly of the above, lying on both sides of what is now the line between Waltham and Watertown, and adjoining the land of John Prescott, afterward the settler of Lancaster. His wife, Rebecca, the mother of all his children, died April 16th, 1661, æt. 55, and he married, 2d, Johanna, widow of Thomas Buckmaster, or Buckminster.

Joseph Garfield, son of Edward, was born September 11th, 1637, married Sarah Gale April 3d, 1663, was admitted freeman April 18, 1690, and died August 14, 1691. His name is signed with those of Lieutenant Bonham and

eighteen other soldiers to a certificate on the Middlesex Court records dated April 15, 1690: "Being listed in the service of the country against the French, and ordered down to Charlestown and being denied quarters elsewhere the widow Mary Peachlee did entertain us." This evidence of his right to his place in the line as one of a race of soldiers, is the only memorial of the life of Joseph Garfield.

Capt. Benjamin Garfield, the son of Edward, born 1643, admitted freeman April 18th, 1690, died November 28th, 1717, was one of the most important men of his time in Watertown. He was representative nine times, selectman twenty years, town clerk twelve years, and on the committee to find out the boundary between Watertown and Newton, March 1st, 1704-5. In the earnest and protracted controversy concerning the location of the meeting-house, which arose in 1692, he was the leader of the party inhabiting the middle precinct, now Waltham. The town was then divided into three military precincts, the second or middle precinct being sometimes called "the precinct of Capt. Garfield's company." December 27th, 1692. Mr. William Bond and Lieut. Benjamin Garfield were appointed by the town to apply to the Governor and Council to obtain a committee to determine the controversy.

Judge Sewall writes in his diary April 1, 1695:—"Three of Watertown came to me and gave an account of their town meeting; which was on Wednesday last, but could do nothing; so adjourned to the 28th inst. and then chose selectmen. Though the farmers voted with the East End, yet the Middle out-voted them, and have chosen selectmen to their mind, and Capt. Garfield town clerk instead of Capt. Prout, who has endeavored much to obstruct their proceedings about the new meeting house. Parties were so combined on either side that 'twas a continued duel in each, one to one, and fourscore and odd votes apiece."

December 20, 1695, he was one of the committee to treat with Rev. Henry Gibbs to preach in the new meeting-house. At a town meeting June 26th, 1696, the dissensions still continuing, the town voted "there should be a day of humiliation kept in Watertown and that Simon Stone, Capt. Barsham, Isaac Miller and Benjamin Garfield are desired and appointed to entreat the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard and Rev. Mr. Cotton Mather to carry on the work of the day of humiliation." At a town meeting held September 21st, 1696, a committee of three persons on each side was chosen "to debate those matters of difference that did keep them from meeting in love and peace, as to the worship of God." Capt. Garfield was one of the committee on his side. The meeting adjourned for a week, at the adjournment Benjamin Garfield the town clerk "did relate to the town the proposals made by both parties."

Lieut. Thomas Garfield, born December 12, 1680, died February 4, 1752. He was the third son of Capt. Benjamin. He was established in his father's life-time in that part of Watertown afterward Weston which, April 24, 1746, was incorporated with parts of Concord and Lexington as the second precinct of Concord, and April 19th, 1754, became the town of Lincoln. Lieut. Thomas Garfield and his sons Thomas Garfield, Jr., and John are named in the act of incorporation of the second precinct of Concord and his son John Garfield was one of the first town officers. He undoubtedly built and occupied the house now standing in Lincoln, about two miles south of the centre of the town, which has been owned and occupied by his descendants until within a few years. Benjamin in his will dated May 22d, 1717, devises to his son Thomas "the farme land that I purchased of Mr. Simon Tainter, by estimation one hundred and twenty acres, and the said lands being now in his possession." The deed of this land from Simon Tainter to Benjamin Garfield is dated March 13th, 1702-3, and describes "one tract or parcel of farm land, lying in Water-

town above said, containing one hundred and twenty acres bounded easterly with land granted to Simon Eire and land granted to Richard Sautle, southerly with the squadron line against the fifth division, westerly with the line between Watertown and Concord, and northerly with land granted to Isaac Stearns." Thomas Garfield in his will dated January 27th, 1752, bequeaths to his son Thomas Garfield, "all my lands and buildings in said Weston, and in Concord adjoining thereto." This house is situated at the end of a grass-grown lane about forty rods from the high road leading from Lincoln to Waltham and about two miles south from the centre of Lincoln. It is a secluded spot of great beauty. The house, a square, unpainted, two-story house with a great chimney in the middle, stands surrounded by old elms and apple trees, in a tract of fertile meadow,

THE LINCOLN HOUSE.¹

with the Lincoln hill in the distance. This estate passed from Lieutenant Thomas to his son Thomas Jr., from him to his daughter Rebecca, wife of David Fiske, thence to her son Elijah Fiske, from him to his children who sold it recently. It is now the property of Richard Barrett, Esq., of Concord, secretary of the Middlesex Mutual Fire Insur-

¹ This wood-cut and that of the house at Westminster, were engraved by Kyes & Woodbury, of Worcester, Mass., from original Water Color Paintings by Miss Susan Hale, of Boston. They were painted for Senator Hoar, and by him presented to Mrs. Garfield.

ance Company. According to Bond, Lieutenant Thomas Garfield married January 2, 1706-7, Mercy, daughter of Joshua Bigelow of Watertown, aunt of the famous Colonel Timothy Bigelow of Worcester, and great-aunt of Tyler Bigelow, father of the Chief Justice. It is more probable that Mercy was daughter of Samuel Bigelow, brother of Joshua. A daughter, Mercy Garfield, is named in Samuel's will. The original homestead of the Bigelows was separated by but one six-acre lot from that of the Garfields. Joshua Bigelow was wounded in King Philip's war and received therefor a grant of land in Narragansett No. 2, afterward Westminster, in the County of Worcester. He is said by Mr. Hudson to have been the only soldier actually in service in Philip's war who moved on to the granted lands in Westminster, where he died February 21st, 1745, æt. 90.

Thomas Garfield, Jr., born February, 1713, died in Lincoln January 3d, 1774; married Rebecca Johnson of Lunenburg; son of Thomas Garfield, is next in the line of the President's direct ancestry. He lived and died on the Lincoln farm and attained the rank of lieutenant in the Lincoln company. His youngest son Abram was in the fight at Concord Bridge on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775. Abram, whose name has been transmitted in the family to the President, died unmarried, at the age of twenty-seven, on the 15th of the following August. He was probably a soldier when he died. His name is annexed to one of the depositions carried to England from Salem by Captain Derby giving the American account of the occurrences at Concord and published in the *Remembrancer*.

The graves of Thomas Garfield, Jr., and Rebecca his wife, of their son Abram, of their daughter Mrs. Rebecca Fiske and her husband Daniel Fiske, are together in a row in the Hill burying-ground in Lincoln, marked by simple stones of slate. The grave of John Garfield, brother of Thomas, and his wife, are in the old burial-ground near Major Flint's in Lincoln, close by the spot where five British soldiers,

killed in Lincoln on the retreat from Concord, were buried in one grave.

The death of Thomas and Rebecca Garfield and of their son Abram and the marriage of their son Solomon and Sarah Stimson are recorded in the Lincoln records. This ends the connection of the Garfield line with Middlesex.

Solomon Garfield

¹ Eldest son of Thomas, Jr., born July 18, 1743, married Sarah Stimson of

Sudbury, May 29, 1766, was the great-grandfather of the President. He moved to Westminster some time before June, 1770. The births of his children are recorded in the Westminster records as follows :

Solomon Garfield and Sarah his wife, family record.

June 2d, 1770, Rebekah Garfield borne.

March 19th, 1773, Thomas Garfield borne.

June 23, 1779, Solomon Garfield borne.

June 2d, 1781, Hannah Garfield borne.

Feb. the 19, 1785, Lucy Garfield borne.

Solomon started with one of the Westminster companies under the command of Captain Noah Miles for the scene of action, on the alarm of April 19th, 1775. The company left Westminster, thirty miles from Concord, about noon, did not of course arrive in time to take part in the combat on that day, but remained eight or ten days at Cambridge. He was corporal in the company commanded by Captain Elisha Jackson, sent from Westminster to reinforce the army at Bennington, September, 1777, and was in service twenty-seven days, at that time.

The town of Westminster voted unanimously against the Constitution proposed in 1778, and put on record its reasons :—

" It is our opinion that no Constitution whatever ought to

¹ The electrotype of this fac-simile, of the Autograph of Solomon Garfield, was kindly furnished by Rev. Edward G. Porter, of Lexington, who had it engraved for his paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, " Concerning President Garfield's Ancestry."

be established, till previously thereto a Bill of Rights be set forth ; and the Constitution be framed therefrom, so that the lowest capacity may be able to determine his natural rights, and judge of the equitableness of the Constitution thereby."

" And as to the Constitution itself, the following appears to us exceptionable, viz., the fifth article, which deprives a part of the human race of their natural rights on account of their color ; which, in our opinion, no power on earth has a just right to do. It therefore ought to be expunged the Constitution."

Thomas Garfield, Jr., the father of Solomon, drew original house-lot No. 110, in the right of Samuel Read of Charlestown, on the 9th July, 1734, at the meeting of the Proprietors of Narragansett No. 2, held at Watertown on that day. Westminster, then called Narragansett No. 2, was one of the townships granted by the General Court by resolve of June 15th, 1728, " to the persons, whether officers or soldiers, belonging to this Province, who were in the service of their country in the Narragansett war, or to their lawful representatives, as a reward for their public service." Thomas Garfield, Jr. was then a young man of twenty-one. It is quite likely that he was led to acquire this right from the fact that his relative, Eliezer Bigelow, drew the land of Joshua Bigelow, father of Eliezer, on the same day. The Bigelows moved to Narragansett eight years afterward. Thomas Garfield subsequently acquired other lots in Westminster, in the same right, plans of which are recorded in the records of the Proprietors of Narragansett No. 2, preserved at Westminster.

There is a deed on the Worcester records from Thomas Garfield to his son Solomon dated August 9th, 1773, of four tracts of land ; " the first piece is an original house lot, Number One Hundred and Ten, with a house and some improvements thereon, and lyes in the northeasterly part of the town, containing by estimation eighty acres."

The second is " a third division of upland drawn from

the abovesaid house lott No. 110 and lyeth in the westerly part of the town, and containeth sixty-nine acres."

The fourth is a meadow lot containing three acres, "and is on the stream the saw-mill stands on."

This fourth lot was sold by Solomon Garfield to Seth Harrington November 16, 1778, and is then described as "lying in the meadow below the Wachusett Pond, called the Great Meadow."

February 20th, 1779, Solomon Garfield, with his sisters, Hannah and Lucy, their husbands joining, convey to Daniel Fiske of Lincoln, the husband of the third sister, a tract of land in Westminster, "late the property of Abraham Garfield of said Lincoln." This tract had undoubtedly come to Abraham from his father.

April 12, 1781, Solomon Garfield conveys to his brother-in-law, Caleb Parker of Reading, his house lot, and another lot of twenty-five acres, probably the third in the deed from his father.

Of the children born in Westminster, Thomas the eldest son and second child was the grandfather of the President. Solomon gave to the eldest daughter the name of his mother, Rebekah, to the eldest son the name of his father and grandfather, and to the others his own name and those of his two sisters, Hannah and Lucy.

Solomon was married in 1766 when he was less than twenty-three years old. He is found dwelling in Westminster in 1770. He probably moved there soon after his marriage. His father's deed to him in 1773 describes, as before stated, the land "as having a house and some improvements thereon." Solomon Garfield conveyed this land on the 12th day of April, 1781, describing it as follows:—

"The following tract of upland, viz. ; an original house lot, number one hundred and ten, and contains by estimation eighty acres, with an allowance in the breadth of the lott for a road of four rods wide, with a house

thereon, with considerable improvements upon said premises, and bounds southerly on land of Israel Dupe, westerly on land of Thomas Farnsworth, northerly on land of Zaccheus Bemis, easterly on farm land, or however otherways bounded, as described on the Proprietors Book of Records."

Caleb Parker conveys the land two years after to Jabez Bigelow, bounding the farm easterly on the town line. These descriptions render it easy to identify the land. The descendants of Israel Dupe still dwell on the land just south owned by him in the time of Solomon Garfield's deed in 1773. Mr. Dupe, a man advanced in years, says he remembers the house sixty-five years and that it then was an old house looking as it does now, except that the great chimney was taken out of the middle some six or eight years ago. He also remembers being told by his parents that a family of Garfields formerly occupied



THE WESTMINSTER HOUSE.

the place north of his own. This is undoubtedly the house built and occupied by Solomon Garfield and the birthplace of the President's grandfather. It is now occupied by Mr. Leander Hartwell. It is one of the best class of the farm-houses erected in our country towns at that day, the main portion about thirty-eight feet front by twenty-two deep, with the ridgepole running from side to side, the front door

in the middle, two stories in front, and sloping down to height of one story in the rear. It is about three miles east of the middle of Westminster on the road leading Fitchburg.

Solomon Garfield remained in Westminster at least as late as February 19th, 1785, when his daughter Lucy was born. He is described as of Westminster in a family settlement signed by him, dated 1788, the original of which is in the Middlesex Probate records. He moved to Cherry Valley, Otsego County, New York, within a few years from that time. From Cherry Valley was set off on the 3rd March, 1797, Worcester, a small and hilly town in the southwestern corner of Otsego County, about fifty-six miles west of Albany, where Thomas Garfield, the President's grandfather, grew up, and where his father Abram was born and married. Hough's *New York Gazetteer* gives the names of a few of the early settlers of Worcester, of which three are said to be from Massachusetts. I do not recognize either of them as persons belonging to Worcester County. It is quite possible that the name of Worcester may have been given to the new town by Solomon Garfield in memory of his old home.

It was supposed when these facts were gathered that this would add pleasure to the visit to Massachusetts of her beloved and honored guest. There is a better reason that they should be remembered now. In his eulogy on General Thomas, General Garfield said, "In this world all is relative. Character itself is the result of innumerable influences, from without and from within, which act unceasingly throughout life. Who shall estimate the effect of those latent forces enfolded in the spirit of a new-born child,—forces that mature date back centuries, and find their origin in the life and thought and deeds of remote ancestors,—forces, the germ of which, enveloped in the awful mystery of life, have been transmitted silently from generation to generation, and never perish." Gen. Garfield had no cause to be ashamed

of his New England ancestors, or they to be ashamed of him. Here, at any rate, the virtues of common life are the virtues of greatness. The qualities of this race of yeoman soldiers, clearers of forests, founders of towns, of the men who came over with Winthrop, of the men of the Indian wars, of the faithful and trusted town officers, of the citizen who thought with his townsmen that "no power on earth had a just right to deprive any part of the human race of their natural rights on account of their color," of the brothers who answered the first signal on the morning of the Revolution, have reappeared, and were fit to reappear, on a scene which will dwell in the memory of men until our country herself shall be forgotten.

TITHINGMEN.

BY HERBERT B. ADAMS.

THE office of Tithingman has never been satisfactorily explained. New England tradition describes this institution only in its later ecclesiastical form, which was by no means its primitive character even in this country. The oldest people in New England remember the Tithingman as a kind of Sunday Constable, whose special duty it was, in the old parish meeting-house, to quiet the restlessness of youth and to disturb the slumbers of age. Many are the tales which grandfathers can tell concerning this ancient watchman of the congregation, who saw to it that all persons were attentive except himself, and who occasionally broke the peace by sharply rapping with his tune-book and pointing at some whispering boy, or else by patrolling the aisles to arouse sleeping saints by means of his black pole, tipped at one end with brass.¹ In some churches there were two or three

¹ This was the old English Tipstaffe, an emblem of the constabulary office, and representing the person of the King. We shall consider the subject of the Tipstaffe or Black Rod more particularly in a paper on "Constables." By the Province laws of Massachusetts (I. 155, 329) Tithingmen were required to "have a black staffe of two feet long, tipped at one end with brass about three inches, as a badge of their office." We find these black staves mentioned in local town records, *e. g.*, in the town records of Salem, in 1646, l. 147; in the town records of Groton, edited by Dr. Green, l. 19, Item, "toe black staffe," three shillings sixpence. Survivals of these black wands have been seen by the writer in actual use by special constables at Amherst College Commencements, which are still held in the old parish church. The use of wands, with ribbon tips, by ushers, is only an æsthetic transformation of the ancient Tipstaffe. It is said that in some early New England parishes, the Tithingman's rod was tipped at one end, not with brass, but with a squirrel's tail. This end was used in awakening women. The other end was a deer's hoof, which carried sharp conviction to men and boys.

of these grim, vigilant Tithingmen. It is said that one or two of them sometimes sat under the very shadow of the pulpit, facing the congregation.¹ But more usually one Tithingman sat at each door of the meeting-house to keep out dogs, and one often sat in the gallery to keep in boys.²

From original town records it appears that it was the duty of the early New England Tithingman, not merely to preserve order in the meeting-house, but to see to it that every one went to church. The Tithingman was a kind of ecclesiastical "whipper-in." After looking over the congregation to find if any seats were vacant, the Tithingmen would steal out and explore the horse-sheds, the adjoining fields and orchards, the inns and ordinaries, and even the houses of the village, in order to search out skulkers from divine service. According to the town records of Salem, it is clear that as early as 1644, in that village at least, two men were "appointed euery Lord's day to walke forth in the time of God's worshippe, to take notice of such as either lye about the meeting-howse wthout attending to the word or ordinances, or that lye at home or in the fields, w'thout giuing good account thereof, and to take the names of such persons & to present them to the Magistrate, whereby they may be accordinglie proceeded against."³

A study of the statutes of the mother country, of the period immediately preceding the Puritan migration, shows that the custom of enforcing attendance upon church services

¹ Blood. *History of Temple*, N. II., p. 87.

² In the town of Salem, the Tithingmen or Constables, used to see to it that no boys escaped from church and that no dogs slunk in. The "Dog Whipper" was a regular institution in certain old English towns, notably in Exeter and Congleton (in Chester). Mr. Edward A. Freeman has called our attention to a curious law of Edgar (see Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, II. 251), whereby parish priests were to see to it that no dog should enter church, nor yet more a swine, if it could possibly be prevented!

³ Town Records of Salem, 131, part 1, 1634-1659, published in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, second series, Vol. I.

is by no means original with the settlers of New England. By an Act¹ passed in the reign of James I., all people were obliged by law to "repaire every Sunday" to church, under penalty of twelve pence for every absence. Upon sufficient information, given of course by the Parish Constable or thingman, the justice of the peace issued a warrant to the church warden to distrain goods, if necessary, in collecting such parish fines. All servants, sojourners, and strangers within a man's gates were brought under the operation of law, so that the custom of Sunday inspection of every household must have been in vogue in Old England, long before it was revived at Salem. These laws requiring church attendance are of very ancient standing. By the first Act Elizabeth's reign, "every person and persons inhabiting within this Realme—shall diligentlie and faithfully, having lawfull or reasonable Excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resorte to theyr Parishe Church or Chappell accustomed—upon every Sondaye and other dayes ordeined and used to bee kept as Holy days, and ther tabyde orderlye and soberly during the tyme of the Common Prayer, Preachinges and other Service of God—upon payne of punishment by the Censures of the Church, and also upon payne that every person so offending shall forfeite for every suche offence twelve pens, to be levied by the Churchwardens of the Parishe—to thuse of the Poore."² The Church of England and its Puritan reformers can claim no monopoly in this kind of legislation, for it roots far back in the middle ages in the earliest Catholic laws of England against irregular attendance upon conventicles contrary to the Catholic faith, especially against the meetings of Lollards.³

In early New England, the execution of the laws for the

¹ Statutes of the Realm, 4 Jac. I. c. v.

² Statutes of the Realm. 1 Eliz. c. 2, III.; cf. 23 Eliz. c. i. and 35 Eliz. c. i.

³ Rolls of Parliament, III., 467, 583; IV., 24.

observance of the Sabbath in other ways than church-going was intrusted to the local Tithingmen. Travel on that day was strictly forbidden. There are many persons still living who can remember that the parish Tithingman once discharged the pious function of stopping all unnecessary riding and driving on Sunday. An amusing story is told of the writer's grandfather, who was Tithingman for his parish in Amherst, Massachusetts, and notoriously strict in the discharge of his office both in church and out. Early one Sabbath morning he saw a man driving past his house, with a little hair-trunk in the back end of his wagon. Suspecting that the man was upon a journey, the Tithingman hailed him: "Sir, do you know that travel on Sunday is forbidden by law?" "Yes, sir," said the stranger in a somewhat melancholy tone. The Tithingman caught the idea. "Of course," he said, "in case of sickness or death, a Sabbath journey is sometimes permitted." The traveller replied in a subdued manner, "my wife is lying dead in the town just above here." "Oh, well," said the Tithingman, "you can drive on." The man drove on a safe distance, then looked back and called out: "She has been lying dead for twenty years!"

The law against Sunday travel has been rigidly enforced, in one way or another, by Tithingmen, Constables, local police, or local opinion, down to the present day in many parts of New England. The late Brasseur de Bourbourg, who made Mexican antiquities his life study, once told the writer of an unhappy experience in Boston forty years ago, in trying to procure a carriage on the Sabbath, for the sake of visiting some Catholic dignitary. But neither Catholic nor Protestant England has set Puritan New England a liberal example in the matter of Sunday laws. Moncure D. Conway, in a recent letter to the *Cincinnati Commercial*, narrates the serious difficulty encountered by three American travellers in attempting to procure a Sunday dinner in London, and that after attending church. Not only are Sunday

accommodations for travellers very much restricted to this day in many parts of old England, but travelling itself on the Sabbath has been more or less restrained by law, ever since the time of the Saxon kings, in whose good Catholic reigns Sunday used to begin on Saturday at sunset, and close Sunday evening.¹ The statutes of England at the time the Puritans came over, are full of legislation against breach of the Sabbath by travellers, traders, drovers, butchers, laborers, boatmen, wagoners, and by conveyances of every description.

From the colonial laws of Massachusetts it appears that the functions of the Tithingman were not restricted to the arrest of "all Saboath breakers," but extended to the inspection of licensed inns for the sake of discovering "disorderly tiplers" on the evening of that day or "*at any other time*" during the week. He could carry offenders before any magistrate and commit them to prison "as any constable may doe." For Sunday offenders was reserved the special disgrace of imprisonment in the town "cage" which was "set up in the market place."² Even by such links as these are the towns of New England bound to old English parish life.³ The expression jail-bird has some significance in the light of the evolution of prisons from cages. The use of the pillory and the stocks in punishment for drunkenness are similar links of parish habit. The very liquors that New England Tithingmen were instructed to seek out in unlicensed houses or to obtain a satisfactory account of in regular inns, afford as suggestive a commentary upon the English origin of intemperance in New England as does the mention of beer in the Norse sagas of Vineland upon the Teutonic origin of the first white settlers

¹ Lingard. *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, I., 309-11.

² *Records of Massachusetts*, v. 133.

³ Palgrave, *English Commonwealth*. Anglo Saxon Period. Vol. II., p. clxvi.

of America. "Strong beere, ale, cider, perry,¹ matheglin,² rumme, brandy,"³ these things all have a very English smack. Legislation against the excessive use of these drinks did not begin in New England. The Puritans of Massachusetts struggled against intemperance as did their English fathers before them, and in precisely the same way, by fines and penalties, by laws executed through "Constables, Churchwardens, Headboroughes, Tithingmen, Ale-cunners and Sydemen," as described in the act of the fourth year of King James I.⁴

It is perhaps not generally known that the office of Tithingman in early New England was very like that of a parish constable, of which office, indeed, the former is the historical prototype. In Massachusetts, and elsewhere in New England, the two institutions long continued to exist side by side, although as far as local and colonial records give any decisive evidence, Constables were appointed long before Tithingmen. But the latter is by far the more ancient office in the mother country, and it may have been revived by local hamlets in New England, years before it was formally recognized in town or colony records. The Tithingmen had many functions in common with Constables. Both endeavored to repress tippling, gaming, night-walking, strolling, begging, roaming streets or fields, and idleness in general. They were to see to it that every man was about some lawful and useful business. They restrain-

¹ A liquor prepared from the juice of pears, like cider from apples.

² A fermented liquor made of honey and water boiled together. The name *Matheglin* is Welsh and is derived from *medd* (mead) and *llyn* (liquor). It is one of those familiar household terms which have come down to us from that "exterminated" race, the Kelts. Words like *dad*, *babe*, *lad*, *lass*, *gown*, *flannel*, *clout*, *crock*, *cabin*, *basket*, *bran*, *flask*, *mattock*, are collectively stronger evidence of Celtic influences surviving in Saxon homes than even the above home-made drink.

³ Records of Massachusetts, v. 240.

⁴ Statutes of the Realm, 4 Jac. I. c. v. Cf. I. Jac. I. c. 9.

and butchers and drovers from cruelty to animals, and kept boys and "all persons from swimming in the water."¹

The Tithingman may be distinguished from the Constable by the fact that the former's duties related more especially to the control of family life and of the morals of his neighborhood. The Tithingman's power came nearer *home* than that of the Constable; it reached over the threshold of every family in the hamlet; it was patriarchal, fatherly, neighborly, in the strictest sense. The Tithingmen visited neighbors to see if they kept Saturday night. The Tithingman saw to it that family government was maintained; that single persons were joined to some family; that children and servants were properly taught and trained at home; that the same were kept from all disorderly, profligate, idle, civil and rude practices abroad; in short, that the whole community grew up as one united family in the nurture and admonition of the law.² The Tithingman was the father of the hamlet; he felt himself personally responsible for the character and conduct of all households in his neighborhood. In point of fact, the Tithingman was held strictly to account by the Selectmen, or Townsmen, for the presence of any new-comer into his hamlet. By a town order of Dorchester, in the year 1678, it was required "that the tithingmen in their seuerall presincts should inspect all inmates that doe come into each of their presincts, either single persons or famelies, and to giue speedy information therof vnto the Select men from time to time or to some of them that order may be taken about them."³

¹ See references to next paragraph.

² Records of Massachusetts, v., 241. Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, i., 58, 59, 60. Hudson's History of Lexington, 69.

³ Fourth report of the Record Commissioners of Boston, Dorchester Town Records, 223. Compare the duty of constables as stated in the statute of Winchester (1285) to "present all such as do lodge strangers in uplandish towns, for whom they will not answer." Statutes of the Realm, i., 98.

The Tithingmen were not appointed by the Selectmen, and possibly they were not originally chosen in town meeting, but elected by neighborhoods or hamlets.¹ By an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1679 "the selectmen of each toune take care that tything men be annually chosen *in their seuerall precincts* of their most prudent & discreet inhabitants, & sworne to the faithfull dischargd of their trust."² Tithingmen were empowered, like Constables, to assist one another in their several precincts, "and to act in one anothers precincts wth as full power as in their oune, and yet to retheyne their speciall charges w^{thin} their oune bounds."³ It is a very remarkable fact, which, as far as we know, has entirely escaped attention as regards its historical significance, that the Tithingman of Massachusetts was originally the head man of a *neighborhood of at least ten families*. This was the revival in all its purity of the Saxon Tithing, an institution more ancient than towns or parishes, a patriarchal institution underlying all local forms of Saxon self-government. It was the unit of the Hundred, which archaic type of organization is still known in Delaware and remembered in Maryland, a subject which we shall soon investigate. In 1638 a bill was introduced into the General Assembly of Maryland providing for "a Tythingman in each Manor" and "a Constable in each Hundred."⁴ There can be no doubt as to the perpetuation of the Saxon Tithing in New England, although in the South it does not appear to have been so common as the Hundred. By an Act of the Massachusetts Colony as late as 1677 the selectmen of every town then existing in Massachusetts were ordered "to see to it that there bee one man appointed to *inspect the ten families of his neighbours*."⁵ Such was the

¹ In later times, Tithingmen were always elected in town meeting. See Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, I., 155, 328.

² Records of Massachusetts, v., 240.

³ Ibid. 155.

⁴ Bacon, Laws of Maryland, 1638, ch. II., 12.

⁵ Records of Massachusetts, v., 133.

original character of the Tithingman's office in New England as well as in Old England. Arnold has probably gone wrong in his *History of Rhode Island*¹ in connecting the duty of Tithingmen with that of collecting tithes. The correspondence of names was purely accidental. In this view, we are supported by Mr. Edward A. Freeman, who says there is no historic connection between Tithes and Tithingmen.

In Plymouth Colony, the Saxon Tithing was reinstated for the government of the Indians. It was ordered that in each town where Indians dwelt that every tenth Indian should be appointed Tithingman by the Court of Assistants. His duty was to have the care and oversight of his nine men and to present their faults and misdemeanors to a so-called "overseer," who received his commission from the governor.² This was precisely like the duty of the Tithingmen of Old England at the time the Pilgrims came over. English Tithingmen were required by law to report to the justice of the peace the names of all rogues and vagabonds apprehended, punished or sent to the house of correction. Courts of law were actually introduced among the Indians of Plymouth Colony, the white settlers considering, very wisely, that such a course would have "a good tendency to the civilliseing of the said Indians."³ In a letter of the Reverend Mr. Treat, of Eastham, to the Reverend Increase Mather, this good missionary remarks, that there are five hundred Indians in his township. "They have four distinct assemblies, in four villages, in which they have four teachers of their own choice. . . . There are also six justices of the peace, or magistrates in these villages, who regulate their civil affairs, and punish criminals and transgressors of the civil law. They have three stated courts, and other inferior officers."⁴ These were probably Tithing-

¹ Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, ii., 161.

² Plymouth Colony Laws, 253.

³ Ibid. 239.

⁴ Pratt, *History of Eastham, Wellfleet and Orleans*, 38.

men. Indians, like white men, were strictly watched on the Sabbath. They were forbidden to hunt or fish, to plant or hoe corn, to carry burdens, or "to doe any seruill worke on the Lord's day."¹

There are some rather curious facts concerning this condition of practical Indian serfdom in the towns of Plymouth Colony. By a system of courts and Tithingmen, the Indians were brought as completely under the subjection of the whites as were ever the subdued Britains under the Saxons, or the conquered Saxons under the heel of their Norman lords. And it is very interesting to observe that, in all three instances, the servile population was held down by the very same means. Indians were not only restrained from their natural freedom by these Tithingmen, but were to a great extent reduced to "seruill worke" and the "carrying of burthens," at first, probably, by a kind of voluntary enthrallment for the sake of protection, like the Saxon freemen, then by the slowly increasing pressure of the law. The following extract from the Plymouth records is very interesting in the light of comparative jurisprudence, particularly in the light of the Fugitive Slave law, "if any Indian whoe is a servant to the English shall run away amongst any Indians, such Indians whither such a runaway Indian is come, shall forthwith giue notice of the said Runaway to the Indian Constable [or the Tithingman] whoe shall immediately apprehend such Indian servant, and carry him or her before the Ouerseer or next Majestrate, whoe shall cause such servants to be whipt and sent home by the Constable to his or her master, whoe shall pay said Constable for his service——." ² It is also worthy of note that Indian captives, taken in war, were sent South and sold as slaves to the Bermudas.³ Indians were also sold for debt or theft, at public auction,

¹ Plymouth Colony Laws, 60.

² *Ibid.*, 255.

³ *Ibid.* 242. King Phillip's son was sold into slavery in the Bermudas.

le of Plymouth towns.¹ We have in New England an interesting survival of this old Saxon custom in the practice of farming out the labor of the town's poor to the best bidder. Convict labor, southern chain-gangs, and aware whipping-posts, all repose upon the same solid ground, *servitude to the law*. It is folly to heap reproaches upon the Pilgrim Fathers or upon any generation of men. We Americans, whether in the North or at the South, are of the same English stock; we have inherited the same institutions, with much the same virtues and about the same vices.

Tithings and Tithingmen were a development of New England Puritanism. These institutions for the strict and wholesome government of neighborhoods were transmitted as from the mother country. We may perhaps discover the first step of the transmission process in the instructions given to Governor Endicott, in 1629, by the Massachusetts Company while they were yet in England. This business association of honorable and enterprising Englishmen, who, according to their own accounts, provided for New England, "Ministers, men skylfull in making of pitch, of salt, Wyne Planters,—Wheat, rye, barley, oates,—stones, of all sorts of fruites,"² this thoughtful Company provided also the seeds of English self-government in Towns and Tithings. They said to Endicott by letter, "wee hope yow will fynde many religious, discreete, and well ordered persons, wch yow must sett over the rest devyding them into famylies, placing some wth the ministers, and others under such as, beeing honest men (and of their owne calling as neere as may bee) may haue care to see them well educated in their generall callings as Christians, and particuler according to their severall trades or fitness in disposition to learne a trade."³ To any one familiar with the English law of that period con-

¹ Plymouth Colony Laws, 237.

² Records of Massachusetts, i., 24-5.

³ Ibid. 393; cf. 397, 400, 405.

cerning the training of servants and apprentices, the above instructions to Endicott, which are repeated over and over again, will appear to be only the natural outgrowth of the family regulations of the mother country.

In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston is preserved a curious little volume in old English black-letter, on "The Dvties of Constables, Borsholders, Tythingmen, and such other lowe and Lay Ministers of the Peace, by William Lambard, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent, London, 1614." Published before either Pilgrims or Puritans came over and possibly brought to this country by one of the first settlers (for another of the writings of this same William Lambard was owned by Adam Winthrop and was brought over by his son, Governor John Winthrop, together with the Charter of Massachusetts), the above treatise must be an important and trustworthy source of information as to the exact nature of these offices in Old England at the period of their transmission to the New World. It appears that there were many variations of the name of Tithingman in the mother country, just as in the Town Records of Groton, carefully edited according to the original spelling, by Dr. Samuel A. Green, we find a great variety of terms, from Tidingman and Tighing man to Tiethengman and Tiethenman.¹ In Saxon Law we find Tineman, Tynmanna, Teothungman, Teothungmannus. In mediæval Latin occur Decanus, Decimus, Decimalis Homo. We also find Head-Borough, Head-Boroughman, Borough Elder, Borsholder (Borhs-Ealdor) or the Elder of the Pledge, Chief of the Pledge, Capitalis, Princeps Plegii, and the like. These names we have gathered from many different sources, but they are all intelligible in the light of the following extract from Lambard's Constable: "Now whereas every of these tithings or boroughs did use to make choice of one man amongst themselves, to speak, and to do, in the name of

¹ Green. The early Records of Groton, Massachusetts, 101, 108, 112, 116, 125.

them all; he was therefore in some places called the Tythingman, in other places the Borough's elder (whom we now call Bors-holder), in other places the Boro-head or Headborough, and in some other places the Chief-pledge; which last name doth plainly expound the other three that are next before it; for Head or Elder of the Boroughs, and Chief of the Pledges, be all one."

This extract from Lambard we have taken from Toulmin Smith's work on the Parish (230), showing that Lambard is recognized as good authority by one of the best modern writers upon the subject of English local institutions. Blackstone based his account of "Constables" and "Justices of the Peace" upon Lambard, and scarcely ever went back of the latter's authority. But Lambard while trustworthy in matters belonging to his own time, is to be read with great caution and in the light of modern research as regards all questions of Saxon antiquities. The following extracts from Lambard we have made from the edition of the Duties of Constables, now preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He says, "In some of the Westerne parts of England where there be many Tythingmen in one parish, there only one of them is a Constable for the King, and the rest do serue but as the ancient Tithingmen did." Lambard also says, "In some shires, where euerie Third borow hath a Constable, there the officers of the other two be called Third borowes." The latter office is the same as that of Tithingman. Although not everywhere taking the name of Petty Constable, which was a term introduced by the Normans, the Saxon Tithingman acquired under the Norman régime certain constabulary functions, and these we have partly noticed in our account of the New England Tithingman. Lambard says the Tithingman really combined two offices "the one being his ancient and first office, and the other his later made office." Upon the basis of original records and of an unpublished manuscript account of constabulary duties, which was brought over to

this country by one of the early settlers of Dorchester, we shall treat of the office of "Constables" in a special monograph, to be published by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.¹ We are here concerned with the ancient Tithingman, who was the father of the Norman petty constable and the grandfather of New England selectmen.

According to Lambard, the ancient office of Tithingman was headship of the Frank-pledge. This is not the whole truth, for the institutions of Tithing and Tithingmen are older than that of Frank-pledge. Canon Stubbs² and George Waitz³, the most recent authorities upon English and German constitutional history respectively, maintain that, before the Norman conquest, there is no positive proof of the existence of collective responsibility for crime committed within a Tithing. On the other hand, Palgrave⁴ and the older authorities are inclined to discover germs of the system of Frank-pledge even in Anglo Saxon times. By a law of Canute, every freeman who desired to enjoy the privilege of exculpation by the oath of his friends or the protection of *Wer-geld* (money payment for injury) was to be enrolled in a Hundred and in a Tithing; he was to be brought under pledge or "Borh," and this was to hold him to right. The term Frank-pledge is a vulgar corruption of the Saxon *Frith-borh* or peace-pledge. Whether or no the outgrowth of Saxon beginnings, this institution in Norman times was certainly the collective personal pledge of ten or more men to their lord. The idea of associate re-

¹ Historical and Genealogical Register, April and July, 1882.

² Stubbs' Constitutional History of England, 1., 87.

³ Waitz, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, 1., 458 (ed. 1865.) Waitz takes strong ground: "Es gab keine Gesamtbürgerschaft unter den Angelsachsen, weder für das Wergeld noch in irgend welchem andern Sinn, weder vor noch nach Aelfreds Zeiten."

⁴ Palgrave, English Commonwealth, part II., cxxiii. "The system was developed between the accession of Canute and the demise of the Conqueror; and it is not improbable that the Normans completed what the Danes had begun."

sponsibility is here of more importance than the mere number, for as many as eighty men were sometimes admitted into one Tithing. Ten was the least number allowed in Frank-pledge.¹ Probably the Normans infused greater energy into the Saxon Tithing and gave to the idea of *Frith-Borh* a more strictly collective sense, as a better surety for the preservation of the peace.² The old Saxon Tithingman certainly became the *Borhs-Ealdor* (the Bors-holder of Lambard) which signifies the same as the Elder or Chief of the Pledge.

The custom of Frank-pledge and the relation of Tithingman to the same are well described in the laws of Henry I. and also in those of Edward the Confessor, both of which collections, however, belong to a period later than the time of the kings whose names they bear. In the laws of Henry there is an ordinance relating to the Hundred, giving special authority, if necessary, to all freemen, whether retainers or men having their own hearthstone (*heorthfest*), to convene twice a year in their own Hundred, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Tithings are full, whether any have withdrawn, if so, how and why, and whether any have been added. It was enjoined, moreover, that a Tithingman (*decimus*) preside over every nine men, and one of the better sort over every Hundred, who should be called an Alderman (*aldremannus*)³ and take diligent care to promote the execution of law, whether human or divine.⁴

¹ Palgrave, ii., cxxv.

² Dr. Reinhold Schmid, in his edition of the *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (ed. of 1858, p. 649) calls attention to the fact that we have no evidence of the Normans possessing any such institution as Frank-pledge in Normandy and says: "So weit unsere Kunde von dem Verhaeltniss bis jetzt reicht, bleibt daher der angelsaechsische Ursprung der Zehntbuergerschaft das Wahrscheinlichere." To this conclusion we had already come before discovering Schmid's note upon "Rechtsbuergerschaft," but we gladly rest our results upon his solid authority.

³ "Vocabantur eldereman, non propter senectutem sed propter sapientiam." Law of Ed. Con. (Thorpe i., 456.)

⁴ Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, i., 515; also in Stubbs' Select Charters, 106.

The law of Frank-pledge, or Frith-Borg, ascribed to Edward the Confessor, was not framed until the twelfth century. We adopt Kemble's translation: "Another peace, the greatest of all, there is whereby all are maintained in firmer state, to wit in the establishment of a guarantee, which the English call Frithborgas, with the exception of the men of York, who call it Tenmannetale, that is, the number of ten men. And it consists in this, that in all the villis throughout the kingdom, all men are bound to be in a guarantee by tens, so that if any one of the ten men offend the other nine may hold him to right."¹ The custom of viewing Frank-pledge in the court leet or popular court of the manor, for the purpose of seeing that the tenantry are properly enrolled in Tithings, is said to prevail in Yorkshire to this day.²

The origin of Tithings, and of their multiple the Hundred, is one of the most obscure questions in the early history of English institutions. Blackstone and the earlier writers dispose of the question very summarily by ascribing the above types of local organization to Alfred: "to him," says Blackstone, "we owe that masterpiece of judicial polity, the subdivision of England into tithings and hundreds, if not into counties." The monkish testimony of Ingulph, upon which this widely accepted statement rests, is utterly worthless upon this point. It was customary in the Middle Ages to ascribe every good institution either to Alfred or to Edward the Confessor. If pious monks and popular opinion are to be followed in institutional history, then we must ascribe to King Alfred the origin of trial by jury. As an able critic, presumably Palgrave, said years ago in the *Edinburgh Review*,³ if Alfred was really the

¹ *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, i., 450. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i., 249-50.

² Stubbs' *Constitutional History of England*, i., 88, note 4.

³ *Edinburgh Review* (Feb. 1822), p. 289; cf. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, note vi. to ch. viii., part II.

originator of Hundreds and Tithings, and shires, "he must also have been the creator of the common law itself, which only proceeds in conjunction with these divisions." The fact is, Blackstone and the older writers, Coke, Littleton, Bracton, knew really very little about the origin of English institutions. The whole science of institutional history is one of modern growth and can be pursued only in the light of comparative politics and of comparative jurisprudence, along lines of inquiry opened up by such pioneer investigators as Von Maurer, Hanssen, Nasse, Waitz, Gneist, Stubbs, Freeman, Maine, and specialists in Anglo-Saxon law. The study of Saxon institutions was not possible before the labors of Palgrave, Kemble, Thorpe, and Reinhold Schmid in classifying materials and editing statutes and codices. But with all these modern facilities, it is not easy to trace out to one's entire satisfaction the origin of England's early institutions of law and government.

We find Tithings mentioned in the law of Canute already cited. We can trace back the institution through several Saxon reigns, but finally we lose all trace of it. Among the laws of Edgar, in the ordinance relating to the Hundred, it is ordered that if a thief is to be pursued, the fact is to be made known to the Hundredman and he is to inform the Tithingman, and all are to "go forth to where God may direct them," so that they "do justice on the thief, as it was formerly the enactment of Edmund."¹ Here, if we mistake not, we are upon the historic track of the old Saxon Hue and Cry. We note from the laws of Edgar that "if the hundred pursue a track into another hundred,"² warning is to be given to the Hundredman there, so that he may join in the chase. Following a track from one Hundred into another would seem to imply territorial limits. In the laws of Edgar, it is also prescribed that no one shall take possession of unknown cattle "without the testimonies of the men

¹ *Ancient Laws and Statutes of England*, i., 259.

² *Ibid.* 261.

of the Hundred, or of the Tithingman.”¹ In the laws of Athelstan, among the so-called *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ* it is ordered that, in tracing or pursuing a criminal, every man shall render aid, “so long as the track is known; and after the track has failed him, that one man be found [from one Tithing] where there is a large population, as well as from one Tithing where a less population is, either to ride or to go (unless there be need of more.)”² This appears to imply a territorial seat even for the Tithing, as an integral part of the Hundred, as well as a varying number of inhabitants within the Tithing itself.

Probably the Saxon Tithing had its origin in the personal association of warriors by tens and hundreds. Such a decimal system of military organization existed among various early Teutonic peoples, if not throughout the whole Aryan family of nations. Even the Jews fought by tens, and fifties, and hundreds. Undoubtedly kinship had originally something to do with the marshalling of hosts. The Homeric warriors fought under patriarchal chiefs. The ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, were arrayed by families and near kinsmen (*familiae et propinquitates*).³ And it is not at all unlikely that, after the conquest of Britain, the Saxons settled down in Tithings and Hundreds upon somewhat clannish principles. Of course the composition of the host, when levied, would vary from time to time, but a certain idea of territorial permanence would soon attach itself to the local Tithings and Hundreds from the very fact of the allotment of lands.

There seems to be great reluctance on the part of German

¹ Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, i., 261.

² Ibid 233, cf. ii., 499 and Schmid, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, 161.

³ Tacitus, Germania, cap. 7. Prof. W. F. Allen, in a note upon this passage, in his edition of the *Germania*, calls attention to the parallel passage in Cæsar, *de bello Gallico*, vi., 22, where it is stated that land was assigned *gentibus cognationibusque hominum*. “From the two passages, it appears that the divisions of land, and military divisions, were alike founded upon Kinship.”

specialists like Gneist and Schmid to admit that the Saxon Tithing ever became territorial before the Norman conquest, after which time Schmid,¹ at least, concedes the existence of the territorial Tithing, although he, like the rest of the German critics, continues to distinguish very sharply between the local Saxon Tithing and the purely personal Frank-pledge. Stubbs, the best English authority upon the subject of Saxon institutions, says that Tithings of a territorial character exist to this day in the western counties of Somersetshire,² Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Worcester-shire, and in all counties south of the Thames, except Cornwall and Kent. Stubbs, who follows Pearson upon this point, says the Tithings of some counties answer to the townships of others. This statement and the researches of Pearson, in the text of his Historical Maps of England during the first thirteen centuries,³ uncover a secret which none of the German writers appear to have discovered. They deny the existence of a territorial Tithing among the Saxons, because the name does not occur in the Domesday Book.⁴ Toulmin Smith read the secret of the Tithing in his researches into the history of the English Parish and it will be as clear as daylight to anyone reflecting upon the natural relation of the personal Tithing to its landed domain. A group of at least ten families, a Tithing of inhabitants, constituted a Saxon Township, which is the secular basis of the ecclesiastical Parish.

We cannot enter in this connection upon the subject of

¹ Schmid, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, 648.

² Mr. Edward A. Freeman says he lives in the Tithing of Burecott, Somerleaze, Wells, County of Somerset, which Tithing, before the recent Highway Act of the Poor Law, used to meet and tax itself for local purposes. Notices of the meeting of the Tithing used to be posted, like the notices of a New England Town Meeting.

³ Pearson, Historical Maps, 50-52.

⁴ Gneist. Das Englische Verwaltungsrecht, i., 51. In den unendlichen Einzelheiten, welche das normannische Domesdaybook giebt, kommen die Worte *decania*, *decenna*, *teôthing*, *tything* auch nicht ein einziges Mal vor.

the transformations of Tithing, Township, and Parish, but shall one day do so more fully in papers upon the Origin of Northern Towns and Southern Boroughs. We call attention, however, to a few important and fundamental facts.

1. Many modern places in England, that are recognized as Tithings, end in the Saxon word *Ton*, meaning Town, e. g., the Tithing of Alkington, in Berkeley Parish.

2. Many Tithings are geographically identical with Parishes, although many Parishes often include several Tithings.

3. Many names of English Parishes end in the Saxon *Ton* and correspond territorially with old Saxon Towns.

4. In the later part of the Middle Ages, taxation in England was levied upon Tithings, Towns, and Parishes; the existence of ten householders in a township or parish was the criterion of local liability to taxation.

5. The Tithingman, and his historic kinsmen, the Town Reeve, and the Parish Constable, assessed and collected taxes.

6. The Saxon Tithingman became the Norman Petty Constable. It is a principle of the common law that wherever there is a Petty Constable, there is a Parish.

The following extract from the Laws of Edward the Confessor (Thorpe I., 454), throws considerable light upon the functions of the English Tithingman in the Middle Ages: *Cum autem viderunt quod aliqui stulti libenter forisfaciebant erga vicinos suos, sapientiores ceperunt consilium inter se, quomodo eos reprimerent, et sic imposuerunt justiciarios super quosque x. frithborgos, quos decanos possumus dicere, Anglice autem tyenthe-heved vocati sunt, hoc est caput x. Isti autem inter villas, inter vicinos tractabant causas, et secundum quod forisfacturæ erant, emendationes et ordinationes faciebant, videlicet de pascuis, de pratis, de messibus, de certationibus inter vicinos, et de multis hujusmodi quæ frequenter insurgunt. Compare*

Kemble, *Saxons in England*, I., 253. Spelman (*Works* II., 51) says, "every hundred was divided into many Freeborgs or Tithings consisting of ten men, which stood all bound one to the other, and did amongst themselves punish small matters in their court for that purpose, called the Leet, which was sometimes granted over to the Lord of Manours, and sometimes exercised by peculiar officers. But the greater things were also carried from thence into the Hundred Courts; so that both the streams of Civil justice and of Criminal did there meet, and were decided by the Hundreds—as by superior judges both to the Court Baron and Court Leet also." Then commenting on the above law, Spelman continues, "Edward the Confessor (LL., cap. 32) saith, that there were justices over every ten Freeborgs, called Deans, or Tienheovod (that is, head of ten) which among their neighbours in Towns compounded matters of trespasses done in pastures, meadows, corn, and other strife, rising among them. But the greater matters, saith he, were referred to superior justices appointed over every ten of them, whom we call Centurions, Centenaries, or Hundredors, because they judged over an hundred Freeborgs."

In the face of this testimony, it is difficult to understand how German critics and even Hallam (*Middle Ages*, ch. VIII., part 1) and Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* I., 90) can doubt that the Tithingman settled small causes between man and man. The Selectmen of early New England Towns and the Parish Officers of Maryland had similar judicial functions. Upon the question of village-judgeship, Stubbs makes a very prudent modification of his first statement: "The Tithingman is of course an elective officer. The idea that he was a sort of village-magistrate is without basis; although in a simple community of peasants the office of Constable, for such seems to have been the position of the Tithingman, was held in more honour than it is now." Pearson, in his *History of England* (I., 252) says, "The only

popular magistrates in the country were—the Tithing and Hundred Reeves; the former were always, the latter mostly, elected by their respective communes. The smaller questions of debt and police were probably decided by these men in their respective courts; the freemen of the Tithing would meet as occasion required; the Hundred Court was summoned once a month.” In the court of the Tithing we may discover the germ of vestry meeting and town meeting, and in Tithingmen, the origin of Select-vestrymen and Selectmen.

The Saxon Tithingman was the Selectman of the Tithing. He was an elected officer, like the Petty Constable, who succeeded him. The mediæval Tithingman’s functions were patriarchal and authoritative. He was the Town Father in the true and original sense of that term. His relations were with families, as in early New England. He watched over his hamlet as the New England Tithingman watched over his neighborhood and the congregation. He kept the public peace; he was arbiter between neighbors and kinsmen; he regulated the division of lands, the use of pastures and meadows; he announced the time of harvest and when enclosures were to be removed or fences put up. He was a man having authority in a small neighborly way. He foreshadowed the Petty Constable and the easy-going Selectmen of our modern New England Towns. But the main idea of his office was the same as that perpetuated in the original Tithingmen of New England, viz: elective, patriarchal headship over a neighborhood of *at least* ten families. This is the original, fundamental character of the office, considered as a local institution.

We have found the heart of our subject. We have stripped off the ecclesiastical tissue, which in later times enshrouded the New England Tithingman, who is now undoubtedly dead. We have dissected away the outer layer of constabulary duties, and have found, in the patriarchal control of a Tithing, the real mechanism which for

many centuries gave such energetic life to the Tithingman. The biologists in Baltimore have recently succeeded in isolating the mammalian heart, and in keeping it alive, by a transfusion of foreign blood, for hours after the rest of the body is entirely dead. Possibly by some such method of procedure, in the case of a live subject like the modern Constable or Selectman, we may derive a more intimate knowledge of that older institution, whose life is now beating on in kindred forms.

WHAT IS THE TRUE SITE OF "THE SEVEN CITIES OF CIBOLA" VISITED BY CORONADO IN 1540?

BY PROF. HENRY W. HAYNES.

At the last meeting of this Society Rev. Edward Everett Hale expressed himself as inclined to abandon his previous identification of Cibola with the Zuñi Pueblos, on account of the lately reported evidence, contained in an accompanying letter from Lieutenant John G. Bourke, who endeavored to establish the identity of that site with the present Pueblos of the Moqui Indians. It seems to me, however, that in making this concession Mr. Hale has overlooked certain objections, which weigh strongly against Lieutenant Bourke's theory. That gentleman indeed admits that he "may not be supported by the weight of authority," but he thinks that he "has seen enough of the country between the Gila and the northern boundary of Arizona to entitle his opinion to some consideration." However this may be, the identification of an historical site requires something more than merely local knowledge. It demands an intimate acquaintance with all the literature of the subject, such as is displayed by General Simpson in his "Coronado's March,"¹ or by Mr. Davis in his "History of the Spanish Conquest of New Mexico."² The whole question of the geography of New Mexico and the tribal relations of its inhabitants has just been carefully re-investigated by our associate, Mr. Bandelier in his "Historical Introduction to

¹ Smithsonian Report, 1869, pp. 309-340.

² The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, by W. W. H. Davis. Doylestown, Penn. 1869.

studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico,"¹ with a thorough sifting of all the original authorities. These three writers certainly cannot be considered as deficient in local knowledge; and their conclusions in favor of Zuñi as the site of Cibola are sustained by the similar result, reached in 1854, by Lieutenant Whipple,² and Professor Turner,³ in the course of their explorations for a suitable route for the Pacific Railroad; and by the opinion of Mr. Kern as recorded in "Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes of North America."⁴ But inasmuch as Lieutenant Emory⁵ and Lieutenant Abert⁶ in their military reconnoissance, made through this region in 1846-7 pronounced in favor of Ciboletta, Laguna and the five neighboring villages, situated some ninety miles east of Zuñi, and as Hon. Lewis H. Morgan⁷ has taken ground in support of the claim of the remarkable group of ruined stone structures in the valley of the river Chaco, lying about one hundred miles to the northeast of Zuñi, the question of the true site of Cibola may be regarded as still an open one. But, so far as I am aware, Lieutenant Bourke is the first to argue in favor of the Moqui Pueblos.

It is true that these last agree in number and in the general character of their construction with the villages visited and described by Coronado; but, as Mr. Hale remarks, "there is more than one instance recorded where these tribes inhabited groups of seven towns." I find at least five such cases referred to in the original accounts of

¹ Papers of the Archæological Institute of America. American series. No. I. Boston. 1881.

² Pacific R. R. Reports, vol. iii., pp. 68, 69.

³ Id. ib. p. 104.

⁴ Part iv., p. 21.

⁵ Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, by Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Emory, p. 133 (Exec. Doc. No. 41, 30th Cong. 1st Sess.)

⁶ Report of Lieutenant J. W. Abert of his examination of New Mexico, Id. ib. p. 491.

⁷ North American Review, April, 1869. "The Seven Cities of Cibola."

the expedition: Tusayan,¹ Tiguex,² Quirex, Hemes, and the one "among the snowy mountains."³ This would seem to dispose of Lieutenant Bourke's statement that "no other nation of Pueblo Indians than the Moquis has now, or has had at any time, seven villages situated within such distances of each other as from eight to ten miles." The same argument drawn from the similarity in number of the villages was employed by Lieutenant Abert in support of his identification of Cibola with Ciboletta and its neighbors; and he also called to mind the circumstance that the nations of Anahuac were seven in number, and that they "are said to have preserved this arrangement of tribes in all their wanderings."⁴ So too Mr. Morgan states in regard to the ruins in the Chaco valley that "the last seven are near each other and scattered along an extent of ten miles."⁵

Dismissing then the argument from their similarity in number, let us consider whether the situation of the Moqui Pueblos corresponds with the descriptions of Cibola given by the old chroniclers.

The Moqui villages, in the first place, are certainly not situated in a valley, or upon any river, nor is there any flowing stream within many miles of them, as is said to have been the case at Cibola.⁶ On the contrary, they stand on a mesa, or elevated table-land, and depend for water upon the springs and reservoirs in the neighboring cañon.⁷

Again, if we identify Cibola with the Moqui Pueblos, where are we to locate the *Tusayan* of Castañeda, that "other province twenty leagues (or, as is stated in another

¹ Relation du voyage fait à la nouvelle-terre, redigée par le Cap. Juan Jaramillo.—Coll. of Ternaux-Compans, vol. vi., p. 370.

² Relation du voyage de Cibola par Pédro Castañeda de Nagera. Id. 1b. pp. 167, 168.

³ Castañeda, p. 182.

⁴ Report, p. 491.

⁵ The Seven Cities of Cibola, p. 462.

⁶ Castañeda, p. 54. Jaramillo, pp. 369, 370.

⁷ The Seven Cities of Cibola, p. 480.

...e, twenty-five leagues), to the northwest of Cibola, which contains seven villages, and whose inhabitants have the same costumes, manners and religion as those of Cibola."¹ This place is called *Tucayan* by Jaramillo,² who says that it is to the left of Cibola about five days' march distant, and that it is composed of seven villages. When Coronado despatched Pédro de Tobar and Juan de Villalva, who brought back to him a report about a certain great river,"³ in search of which Garcia Lopez de Cardenas is sent, who reached it after twenty days' march through the desert.⁴ The description of this river, which Castañeda names the Tizon,⁵ with banks so high and rugged that it was impossible to reach the water, and along which they marched several days, seeking for an opening by which to descend, certainly presents a striking resemblance to the accounts we have of the tremendous cañons of the great Colorado of the West, with which it was at an early day distinctly identified.⁶

We feel constrained therefore to locate Tusayan, which is described as a long distance to the west of Cibola, on the site of the Moqui Pueblos, the most westerly of all the inhabited spots, ancient or modern, as laid down on the "Map of the region occupied by the ancient ruins in southern Colorado, Utah, northern New Mexico and Arizona."⁷

But although we can satisfactorily identify Tusayan with the Moqui Pueblos, the question still recurs as to the site of Cibola itself.

The strongest argument in favor of the opinion which places it at or near the present Zuñi villages would seem

¹ Relation, pp. 58 and 165.

² Id., p. 370.

Castañeda, pp. 58-61.

⁴ Id., p. 62.

⁵ Id., p. 64.

⁶ Bandelier, *Hist. Introd.*, p. 15.

⁷ Tenth ann. report of U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey, by F. V. Hayden, 1878, pl. lxxiv.

to be based upon the direct historical evidence, alluded to by Mr. Hale, and which formerly satisfied his mind. In the year 1584, forty years after Coronado's visit, Antonio de Espejo came to Zuñi, and called it by the name of Cibola. In the copy of the text of his report, given with an English version by Hakluyt,¹ Espejo says that he "came to a certain province called by the inhabitants themselves Zuñi, and by the Spaniards Cibola." Mr. Morgan understands this to mean that it was called Cibola in 1584 by the Spaniards; but not by Spaniards then in the country.² This, however, is a gratuitous assumption on his part, as Mr. Bandelier shows from the original text of the report, given in another collection, which reads "a province of six pueblos called Zuñi, and by another name Cibola," thus positively identifying the place.³ Espejo goes on to relate that Coronado had been there and had erected many crosses, which still remained standing. Here also Espejo found three Christian Indians, whose names he gives, who had remained ever since Coronado's departure, and who had almost forgotten the Spanish language; but he states that after a while they were able to understand each other. Now Castañeda⁴ informs us that Coronado on his return to Mexico left behind at Cibola some Indians from Mexico, who had accompanied him, who remained there and established themselves. Certainly Gen. Simpson would seem to be fully warranted in his remark that "the two accounts of Espejo and Castañeda correspond in such a manner as not to leave the slightest doubt that Zuñi of the present day is the Cibola of old."⁵ Mr. Morgan, however, thinks that "it is not necessarily conclusive, though the statement has weight."⁶ He is disturbed, because, as he thinks, none

¹ Voyages, vol. iii., p. 470 (new ed., London, 1810.)

² The Seven Cities of Cibola, p. 480.

³ Hist. Introd., p. 16.

⁴ Relation, p. 217.

⁵ Coronado's March, p. 331.

⁶ The Seven Cities of Cibola, pp. 479, 480.

many ruins at present existing in the vicinity of Zuñi ally meet Coronado's description;" but, although he talks of the crosses set up by Coronado, singularly enough omits all reference whatever to the Christian Indians. Nevertheless his own statement regarding the ruins of Old Cibola, which he describes as "situated on a mesa elevation, of sand-stone rock, very difficult of ascent," that neither of the seven towns of Cibola is described as thus situated," seems to be at variance with the narrative of Coronado himself and of Castañeda. The former says, "this town I have named Granada because it was somewhat like unto it;"¹ while the latter speaks of the narrow, winding way, leading to it, in ascending which Coronado's horse was knocked down and nearly killed by the stones hurled at him by the Indians.² The same statement is also made by Coronado in his report.³ But in regard to the character and appearance of the ruins at Zuñi, we have quite a different account from Mr. Morgan's by Gen. Simpson,⁴ who explored the country in 1848. He says, "at Zuñi and its vicinity, within a distance of about sixteen miles, and on the banks of the Vermejo, or Little Colorado river, there are the ruins of as many as six pueblos, all showing that they were once built of stone; and with the present Zuñi, doubtless they constituted the seven cities," described by Coronado as made of "great houses of stone, of three or four, or five lofts," and which cities "all stand within five leagues together."⁵

But in addition to the direct evidence thus furnished by Espejo as to the identity of Cibola with Zuñi, he supplies a direct confirmation of the opinion, already expressed, that the Tusayan, spoken of by Castañeda and Jaramillo must

¹ Coronado's relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 451.

² Castañeda, p. 43.

³ Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 450.

⁴ Coronado's March, p. 329.

⁵ Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 451.

be sought for at the Moqui Pueblos. In the text and version of his report given by Hakluyt,¹ he says: "He departed out of this province of Cibola, and travelling directly towards the west, after he had passed twenty-eight leagues, he found another very great province." In a side-note this province is called by the name of "Mohotze," and the text goes on to tell that one of the cities is called "Zaguato." These two names Mr. Bandelier finds written in the original text of the report "Mohoce" and "Aguatobi." He also quotes an original authority for the statement that fifteen years later, 1598, Juan de Oñate found the first pueblo of "Mohoce" twenty leagues off the first one of "Juñi" to the westward.²

When we find the relative positions of the Tusayan and Cibola of Coronado's expedition thus strikingly confirmed by the narratives of Espejo and Oñate, I think it is difficult to accept Mr. Hale's supposition that "it is quite possible that Espejo's towns were the Zuñi villages, and Coronado's those of the Moqui."

Now although Mr. Morgan's reasons for not accepting Espejo's statements as conclusive rest on no better foundation than I have indicated, and although his objections to the situation and character of Zuñi are directly opposed by the testimony of Gen. Simpson, it still remains to consider what other arguments he has adduced in support of the claim of the ruins on the river Chaco as the true site of Cibola.

The *first* is that "they are superior architecturally to any pueblos in New Mexico, now existing, or in ruins, and agree in number and proximity to each other with the towns of Cibola, as described."³

The argument drawn from their resemblance in number, I think, has been already disposed of. So far as concerns superiority of construction, I would merely refer to Mr.

¹ Id., ib., p. 470.

² Hist. Introd., p. 15.

³ The Seven Cities of Cibola, p. 491.

about a hundred miles apart; it may, or it may not, be as true of the one as of the other.

However, this is all that Mr. Morgan has to urge in support of his theory, which seems to me to rest upon no more substantial foundations than did the one previously advocated by Lieutenant Emory and Lieutenant Abert in favor of Ciboletta.

Lieutenant Emory in a letter to Mr. Gallatin, dated October 8, 1847, appended to the report previously referred to, speaks of "an Indian race living in four-story houses, built upon rocky promontories, inaccessible to a savage foe, cultivating the soil, and answering the description of the seven cities of Coronado, except in their present insignificance in size and population, and the fact that the towns, though near each other, are not in 'a (continuous) valley six leagues long,' but on different branches of the same stream. The names of these towns are Ciboletta, Moquino, Poguato, Covero, Acoma, Laguna, Poblacon; the last a ruin."¹

Lieutenant Abert beside the argument drawn from the similarity in the number of the villages, to which I have already alluded, attaches some importance to the resemblance between the names of Cibola and Ciboletta. He also argues that, as Ciboletta is situated some fifty or sixty miles west of the Rio Grande, this distance would correspond with the length of Coronado's march before he reached the river Tiguex, which Lieutenant Abert identifies with the Rio Grande, as it is the only river in New Mexico.²

The objections to this theory consist, in the *first* place, in the fact referred to by General Simpson, that Jaramillo expressly states that "all the water-courses which we met with, whether streams or rivers, as far as that of Cibola, and even one or two days' journey beyond, I believe, flow in the direction of the South Sea (meaning the Pacific

¹ Report, p. 133.

² Id., p. 491.

Ocean); further on they take the direction of the Sea of the North (meaning the Gulf of Mexico).¹ This proves conclusively that Cibola was situated on the west side of the water-shed between the two seas, while Ciboletta lies on the east side.

Secondly, Castañeda states that five days' journey from Cibola was "a village named 'Acuco,' erected on a rock. This was very strong, because there was but one path leading to it. It is elevated upon a rock cut perpendicularly upon all the other sides, and so high that an arquebus-ball would hardly reach the top. It could be got at only by a stairway cut by hand, which began at the base of the rock and conducted to the village. For the first two hundred steps this stairway was sufficiently broad; there were then a hundred steps much narrower. At the top of the stairway there still remained a height of about three fathoms to be climbed by placing the feet in holes dug in the rock, in which one could hardly insert his toes; it was then necessary to hold on with the hands."² He afterwards speaks of a village by the name of Tutahaco,³ which same name is applied by Jaramillo to a village between Cibola and Tihuex, and one or two days' journey distant, "situated in a very strong position upon a precipitous rock."⁴ Now Acuco (or by its other name Tutahaco), has always been identified with the pueblo of Acoma, "whose remarkable situation," says Mr. Bandelier, "on the top of a high isolated rock has made it the most conspicuous object in New Mexico for nearly three centuries."⁵ It is only necessary to quote a few words from Lieutenant Abert's description of Acoma, and to glance at the accompanying plates, to be convinced of the correctness of

¹ Relation, p. 370.

² Id., p. 69.

³ Id., p. 76.

⁴ Id., p. 370.

⁵ Hist. Introd., p. 14.

this determination. "High on a lofty rock of sand-stone sits the city of Acoma. * * * At one place a singular opening or narrow way is found between a huge square tower of rock and the perpendicular face of the cliff. Then the road winds round like a spiral stairway, and the Indians have in some way fixed logs of wood in the rock, radiating from a vertical axis like steps; these afford foot-hold to man and beast in clambering up."¹

Even Mr. Morgan acknowledges this near resemblance of the Acuco, of Coronado, to the Acoma, of the present day, and says that it is the chief support to the claim of Zuñi. Still he will not admit it to be conclusive, nor will he allow that Acuco was necessarily to the east of Cibola, although he acknowledges that Castañeda expressly states that some Indians came to Cibola from a village called Cicuyé, seventy leagues towards the east, and that Alvarado, when sent thither, after five days' march arrived at Acuco.² We think, however, that few will carry their incredulity to such a pitch as this; but that most will feel forced to admit that Cibola is not to be sought at or near Acoma, which was five days' journey to the eastward of it.

As the superiority of the claim of Zuñi to be regarded as the true site of Cibola over that of the ruins on the river Chaco, or that of Ciboletta, seems to be thus satisfactorily established, may not the question be regarded as settled, unless Lieutenant Bourke has produced evidence to the contrary in favor of the Moqui villages, sufficient to outweigh all the objections to such a claim? This we do not think he has done. Let us see just what this new evidence really amounts to. Lieutenant Bourke discovered in the valley of the Rio Verde "the ruins of an old fortification, of which he could only conjecture the previous configuration but which seemed to indicate that in the centre had been a vast, rectangular, two or three-story pile, with well

¹ Report, p. 470.

² *The Seven Cities of Cibola*, p. 488.

defended entrances and loop-holed walls; while the exterior line of work represented a parapet behind which animals could find temporary shelter. The entire wall was of limestone laid in adobe cement; 500 to 1000 men could be accommodated within the lines; which, however, seemed from the number of partition walls to have been intended for store-houses. One of the corners is more than twenty feet high, perhaps twenty-five." At this he adds a rough sketch of its appearance. He proceeds to specify in his argument the mode in which the entrance is defended; the loop-holed walls; the fact that the corner of the outer rampart is cut away in a manner that a small field-piece could be used *en barbette*; the trueness of the angles of the main building, and circumstance that the structure is built in a grassy bottom and not "on a promontory or cliff."¹

These are all the facts and arguments he brings forward; the rest of his letter is made up of inference and conjecture. His inference is that the structure is of "Spanish origin" and from its "great age and position that it was erected by Coronado." His conjecture, following the suggestion of the late Lieutenant Almy, is that it "was erected by Coronado as a base of supplies."

Now this description of the "exterior line of wall representing a parapet," or "outer rampart" as he calls it, and of the "loop-holed walls," reads singularly like accounts given of the ruins of the celebrated "Granada," on the river Gila, to which he himself and Hale both allude.

Father Font, who visited this place in 1775, in describing the main building, speaks of an "enceinte wall, which enclosed this house and the other buildings" and of the "round openings for light made in the wall

¹ Proceedings of the Amer. Antiq. Soc., April, 1881, p. 243.

the east and west sides.”¹ Dr. Bartlett also in his account of the structure, as it appeared in 1852, speaks of the “circular openings in the upper part of the chambers to admit light and air.”²

So too Mr. Bandelier found a similar “wall of circumvallation” surrounding the ruins of Old Pecos.³ This is in precise accordance with Castañeda’s description of Cicuyé, with which Old Pecos has been satisfactorily identified. “The village is surrounded besides by a stone wall of rather low height.”⁴ Mr. Bandelier also found at Old Pecos a system of external defences to the solitary gateway fully as elaborate as that figured by Lieutenant Bourke.⁵

So also, notwithstanding Lieutenant Bourke’s allegation that “the greater part of the prehistoric remains of Arizona will be found to be ‘slouchy’ at the corners; and that either the angles are not an exact ninety degrees, or that the workmanship is defective at these points,” Mr. Bandelier reports otherwise of Old Pecos. He finds that “great attention had been paid to having the vertical surfaces as nearly as possible vertical,” and that the angles were “tolerably accurate,” so much so that he thinks it possible the builders may have made use of “the plummet, or even the square.”⁶

To the argument derived from the circumstance that the “corners of the outer rampart” appear to be “cut away in such a manner that a small field-piece could be used *en barbette*,” may I be permitted to suggest that although it is

¹ Notice sur la Grande Maison, dite de Moctecuzoma, par le père Pédro Font. Coll. of Ternaux-Compans, vol. vi., pp. 385, 386.

² Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, &c., by John Russell Bartlett, vol. ii., p. 274.

³ Report on the ruins of the pueblo of Pecos. Papers of the Arch. Inst. of America, p. 46.

⁴ Relation, p. 177.

⁵ Report, p. 47.

⁶ Id., pp. 56 and 65.

true that Coronado had "some culverins"¹ with him on his march, yet if, according to Lieutenant Bourke's theory, this work was built by Coronado and was designed to protect his "base of supplies," we should be driven to locate Cibola somewhere in the valley of the Rio Verde. It was at Cibola that Coronado made a halt both in going and returning; but Lieutenant Bourke's structure is a long way distant from the Moqui pueblos.

So too, although it is true that a large proportion of the ruins in New Mexico and Arizona are built upon the mesa, or elevated table-land formations, or as Lieutenant Bourke states it "on cliffs or promontories," still there are too many instances where they are found in river bottoms to warrant drawing any fair inference from that circumstance.

In conclusion I will merely add that although Mr. Hale and Lieutenant Bourke agree in identifying the Chiehilticalli, or Red House, of Castañeda, with the ruined Casa Grande, on the Gila, I feel inclined to the opinion that the Casa Grande, on the little river of the same name in Chihuahua, in Mexico, visited and described by Dr. Bartlett,² answers better to the conditions of the problem. Mr. Bandelier evidently is disposed to adopt the same view.³

But it would take too long to go over the arguments necessary to establish this position, as well as to show that Lieutenant Bourke's reasoning about the route which Coronado, as a "skilful soldier," would have been likely to have taken, is opposed to the plain statements of the old chroniclers in regard to the course which he actually did pursue. To do this would require a *résumé* of the "twice-told tale" of Coronado's march. I think that what has been said is sufficient to show that Lieutenant

¹ Castañeda, pp. 110 and 245.

² Personal Narrative, vol. ii., pp. 347-365, and frontispiece.

³ Hist. Introd., p. 11.

Bourke has made no discovery important enough, and has urged no arguments strong enough, to satisfy us of the justice of his claim for the Moqui pueblos; but that on the contrary the preponderance of evidence is decidedly in favor of the claim of the Zuñi pueblos to be regarded as the true site of "The Seven Cities of Cibola."

THE TESTIMONY OF FABYAN'S CHRONICLE HAKLUYT'S ACCOUNT OF THE CABOTS.¹

BY GEORGE DEXTER.

The extract from the "old Chronicle written by Robert Fabyan sometime Alderman of London," cited by Hakluyt in support of Cabot voyages, has been the object of some suspicion because it can be found in any of the printed editions of Fabyan's Chronicle. It will be remembered that our associate, the Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, communicated to this Society, in April, 1860, an extract from one of the Cotton Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum. This is without doubt the basis of Hakluyt's account, although it is also clear, from a comparison of the two passages, that he did not copy the manuscript literally.

The earliest account in print that corresponds at all with the statement in Hakluyt, has been supposed to be a passage in the 1605 edition of Stow's Annals, at page 804. This is cited by Mr. Biddle in "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," page 43, and he there states that Stow's Annals first appeared in that year. These are mistakes. In the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, published in 1586-87, at page 78; the second (technically *third*) volume, the following passage occurs. The language corresponds nearly with that used by Hakluyt, and exactly with that of Stow:—

"Also this yere, one Sebastian Gabato, a Genoas sonne, borne at Bristow, professing himselfe to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and Ilands of the same, as by his charts and other reasons demonstrations he shewed, caused the king to man and vittell a ship at Bristow, to search for an Iland which he knew to be replenished with rich commodities. In the ship diuerse merchants of London aduentured small stocks, and in the companie of this ship sailed to the out of Bristow three or foure small ships freight with slight and greivous wares, as course cloath, caps, lases, points and such other."

The second paragraph, "of three savage men which hee brought home," Mr. Biddle finds also for the first time in the Stow of 1605. It may be seen in the same Holinshed of 1586-87, where it stands at page 789 of the volume already cited.

¹ This paper was prepared by Mr. Dexter for presentation at the October meeting, but was not received in season. By consent of the Publishing Committee, it is printed with the other papers offered at that time.

"Also this yeare were brought vnto the king thrée men taken in the new found ilands by Sebastian Gabato, before named in Anno 1468.¹ These men were clothed in beasts skins and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them; of the which thrée men, two of them were séene in the king's court at Westminster two yeares after, clothed like Englishmen and could not be discerned from Englishmen."

It is evident then that these accounts, said to be taken from an unpublished chronicle or continuation of a chronicle, in the possession of that indefatigable antiquary, John Stow, were in print two years before Hakluyt published the single volume edition of his "*Principal Navigations*" in 1589. But they were printed even earlier than this second edition of Holinshed, from which I have just quoted them. They were printed for the first time, I think, in 1580, two years before Hakluyt published his "*Divers Voyages*," where he first cites Fabyan's Chronicle in manuscript as the authority for them.

The first edition of Holinshed's Chronicle was published in two folio volumes in 1577. This edition does not contain either of the references to Cabot. Holinshed died soon afterward: about 1580, according to Mr. Macray (*Manual of British Historians*, p. 78); his will was proved, says Dr. Dibdin (*Library Companion*, vol. 1, p. 186n.), April 24, 1582. The second edition of the Chronicle, in three volumes (bound as two) was prepared by Abraham Fleming, Francis Boteville (known also as Francis Thin), John Stow and others. Fleming was perhaps the chief editor. His name appears on the title-page of the historical part of the work; he signs its preface and also the one prefixed to the continuation of the Chronicle; and he prepared the elaborate tables or indexes. Stow had already been of service to Holinshed in the first edition, and would naturally have a considerable share in the second. In citing his name in the list "of the Authors from whome this Historie of England is collected," in the earlier edition, Holinshed speaks thus of him:—

"John Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie I have beene not onelle aided, but also by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie."

And at page 1268 of the second volume of the second edition, where Holinshed's own work ends with *anno* 1576, the half-title following reads,

"The Chronicle of England, from the yeare of our Lord, 1576, where Raphaell Holinshed left, supplied and continued to this present yeare, 1586, by John Stow and others."²

¹ An evident mistake for 1498. The same mistake occurs however in the Stow, from which, as I shall show later, these passages are taken.

² These early editions of Holinshed's Chronicle are not easily found in this country. I am indebted to the Barton Collection of the Boston Public Library for the use of very fine copies of both editions, the only perfect ones I have been able to find. In 1807–8, a new edition in six handsome quarto volumes was published. It is, however, only a reprint

Into this second edition considerable new matter was inserted by these editors. But so far as I have been able to discover from a somewhat careful comparison of the two editions, the interpolated passages are marked; generally, at their beginning by the proof reader's sign for a paragraph, ¶, and at their end by a bracket,]. The editors are careful also to give in italic types in the margin of the page, at or near the beginning of the inserted matter, the source or authority from which they derive it. Opposite the first passage I have read here to-day is the marginal reference *A. F. ex I. S. p. 872*; opposite the second, *John Stow pag. 874, 875*. *A. F.* is of course Abraham Fleming, and *I. S.* can be nobody but John Stow. The paging of these citations of Stow indicates a printed book, not a manuscript, and I have succeeded in tracing them.

Stow's earliest work, called the "Summarie of English Chronicles" had passed through several editions before the publication of this second edition of Holinshed. But all these editions of the "Summarie" are small books in 16mo or 12mo. The original edition of 1561 contains only one hundred and twenty leaves, and it is scarcely probable that either of the subsequent ones was increased to nearly nine hundred pages. There is however one book of Stow's, an outgrowth from the "Summarie," that answers the conditions of the problem. This is his "Annals," the first edition of which, under the title of "Chronicles of England," was published, not as Mr. Biddle says in 1605, but in 1580. A copy of this work, in the library of Congress, has been examined for me by the kindness of Mr. Spofford the librarian, and I am assured that the passages I have pointed out in Holinshed are found upon the precise pages of Stow indicated in the marginal notes of the Holinshed. There are, as would naturally be expected, variations in the spelling. I am informed also that there are no marginal references in the Stow. Herein this edition differs from the later ones, where, against the second passage, the one about the Indians, Ro. Fabian appears as the source of the information. At least Mr. Biddle says that the reference is given in the edition of 1605, and it certainly stands in that of 1615, the earliest I have been personally able to consult.

I have had the manuscript in the Cotton collection, Vitellius, A. xvi., from which Dr. Hale obtained the extract submitted to the Society in 1860 examined, with the hope that it might prove to be Fabyan's Chronicle, and to have once been the property of John Stow. Its title reads, "*Cronicon regum Angliae et Series Maiorū et vice comitum*

of the second edition. The publishers say in their "Advertisement," that "it has been a law [with them] not to alter a single Letter, but to print the Work with the utmost Fidelity from the best preceding Edition, with the Author's own Orthography, and with his marginal Notes. The only Liberty taken has been to use the Types of the present Day instead of the Old English Letter of the Time of Elizabeth." As this is the edition generally in use now, it may be well to say that the passages I have quoted from the second edition are found in this, on pages 520 and 528 of the third volume.

civitatis London ab Anno primo Henrici tertij ad Annum primum Henrici octavi.¹ The second folio begins, "The names of Mayers and Shrevys in the tyme of King Henry the thyrd, the yere of owre lord God, MCCXVII." The manuscript is written in two hands which are quite distinct;—the body in one, and the notes or additions in another.

While there is no difficulty in connecting this manuscript with Stow, —my informant writes that there is a pencil memorandum on the first page, signed F. M.¹ "The additions are in the handwriting of John Stow the Historian,"—it does not seem possible to pronounce it a Fabyan. There is a manuscript, known to be the second volume of Fabyan's Chronicle, in the Cotton collection, Nero C. XI., but its handwriting is not the same or even similar to that of the Vitellius manuscript. Again, Fabyan's printed editions show a method, so far as I know peculiar to himself, of arranging the names of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London at the beginning of each year of the sovereign's reign. This method appears in the Nero manuscript while the arrangement in the Vitellius is somewhat different, and agrees, my informant in London says, very nearly with the plan adopted in the early editions of Stow's "Summarie." Fabyan's method is this :

Anno Domini MCCCLXXX. XIX.

Anno Domini MCCCC.

Wyllyam Walderne

Thomas Knollys, grocer

Anno I

Wyllyam Hyde

That is, Knollys was mayor and Walderne and Hyde sheriffs the first year of King Henry IV., which began the last day of September, 1399, and extended to the same day of the following year. Each succeeding year is marked by the two dates. The plan of the Vitellius manuscript is for the same year, the first of Henry IV. :

Thomas knolles	{	William Waldrone	}	A ^o primo
Mayer		William hide		

Again, the names of the mayors and sheriffs are not the same in the printed Fabyan and in the Vitellius manuscript. For the first year of Henry III. the former gives William Hardell as mayor, and John Travers and Andrew Newland as sheriffs; the latter, James Aldermane and Solomon Basyng as each serving part of the year as mayor, and Richard Sumpter and William Blonter as sheriffs. The Nero manuscript (a genuine Fabyan) differs from both but only by postponing the names in the printed Fabyan one year in every case.²

I have received from London a fresh copy of the passages about Cabot in this Vitellius manuscript. As some persons may be curious to have the original spelling, not given by Dr. Hale, it may not be amiss

¹ These are the initials of Sir Frederic Madden, keeper of the Manuscripts; under whose care the Cotton collection was repaired.

² Fabyan's Chronicles, ed. 1811, p. 323, n. 5.

to reproduce the first. The second appears in print now for the time. It is from folio 204 of the manuscript:—

“This yere the kyng at the besy request and Supplicacion Straunger venisiane whiche by a carrt¹ made hym self experyment of the worlde causede the kyng to manne a ship vntaylle and other necessaries for to seeke an Ilande wheryne the Straunger Surynsede to be grete comodities / with whiche Ship by kynges grace so Ryggede went iij or iiij moo owte of Bristowe said Straunger beyng Conditor of the said fflete / wheryne dyuers chauntes as welle of londone as Bristow auenturede goodes and shewmerchaundises whiche departede from the west Cuntrey in begynnynge of Somer, but to this present Moneth came nevyr knowen of theire exploit.”

“This yere three men were broughte out of an Ilande found merchauntes of Bristow ferre beyonde Irelande the which clothede in Beestes Skynnes and ete Raw flesshe and Rude in demeanure as Beestes.”

Both passages are in the handwriting of the body of the manuscript which is not Stow's. The only marginal note to the first is the year 1498, which my agent has not sent me; at the second the note is “iij men broughte from the Newe Ilande.” The gentleman who made the examination for me writes that he cannot find either passage in Stow's early books, the “*Summarie*,” of 1565, 1567, 1573 or 1575.

Stow himself says that he has a continuation of Fabyan's *Chronicle* by the author in manuscript.² This manuscript is yet to be found. Henry Ellis expresses an opinion, in his preface to the last edition of Fabyan, that it might very probably have passed from Stow's collection to that of Sir Robert Cotton. If so it has not yet been recognized in that collection.

I do not forget that many questions will arise from any analysis or comparison of these various extracts about the Cabot voyages. I have not failed to notice that Hakluyt in his later works changed the date of the extract from the unpublished *Chronicle* from that in which he first printed it, by bringing the year of the king from the margin into the text, and by inserting the name of John Cabot, while he still allowed Sebastian's to remain in the heading of his paragraph. Mr. B. has built charges of duplicity and suppression of evidence upon these changes. No candid person will, I think, now entertain them. It is well known that Hakluyt was not an exact and careful writer. In the matter of the Cabots, for instance, I do not suppose that the question of the comparative agency of the father and the son ever occurred to him. He makes even no distinction of voyages. He only collected the materials he can find about the Cabots, and prints them absolutely without editorial care. And so also, the discrepancy between

¹ This word is scored out in the manuscript.

² Fabyan's *Chronicle*, ed. 1811, p. xvii.

"XVII yeere of his raigne" in the "Divers Voyages," and the "fourteenthe yeare" of the later works, seems rather an instance of his occasional want of care than a proof of his treachery, as Mr. Biddle would have it. But all these are questions into the discussion of which I do not propose to enter. They will doubtless be considered in the chapter which our associate, Dr. Deane, is understood to be preparing for the new history of America, and any fog that hangs about them will then be dispelled.

ENGLISH OFFICERS IN AMERICA.

BY E. E. HALE.

THE American war proved a good school for many English officers who were to distinguish themselves in the wars with Napoleon. "The Georgian Era" contains the names of fifty-one officers in the army who attained such distinction as to entitle them to a place among the "most eminent persons who flourished" in the age of the Georges. Four of these fifty-one were born in America, namely:—

1. Sir DAVID OCHTERLONY, born 1758, died 1825. He was a pupil in the Boston Latin School in 1766. He became an ensign in the Indian establishment in 1778 and rose to high rank in India.

2. I think we are to name here Sir SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, born in 1756, died 1822. At the age of twenty he entered the forty-fifth foot then in Halifax or Boston. He was soon made lieutenant and as such served at Brooklyn and White Plains. In 1806 he had chief command of the English forces in the La Plata, and in 1807 stormed the defences of Montevideo and took that city. He had afterwards the chief command in the Carhatic, and commanded the forces which reduced Java. After the peace he was commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, and was riding in Phoenix Park, Dublin, when he suddenly fell dead.

3. General ROBERT MACKAY, as I suppose, was born in Boston. In 1778 he obtained a commission in the native infantry of Madras, and he rose to high rank in India. He was made lieutenant-general in 1821.

4. EDMUND FANNING, born about 1725, died in 1774. He was surveyor general of the royal lands in North Carolina, and there took the king's side. He went to England as a colonel after Cornwallis's defeat, and afterwards was made Governor of Nova Scotia and of Prince Edward's Island.

Other American born officers in the English army, not named in the Georgian Era, are Benjamin Bethune, who was a captain, and Gen. Hugh Mackay Gordon, who were in the same class at the Boston Latin school with David Ochterlony.

There are left forty-seven of these "distinguished officers," of whom also at least thirty served in America, either in the French war or the Revolution. These are

Major JOHN ANDRÉ, born 1751, died 1780. Major Wemyss's comment on André is in these words;—"Major André succeeded Lord Rawdon as Adjutant-General. Accomplished and of good abilities, his melancholy

fate will be remembered with the deepest regret. The important office he held, and the distinguished favour of the Commander-in-Chief, made him sometimes show a degree of consequence that created him some enemies."

JEFFREY, Lord AMHERST, born 1727, died 1798. Commander-in-chief of army from 1775 to Lord North's dismissal. He had served and commanded in America from 1758 to 1763.

Sir RALPH ABERCROMBY, born in 1738; was killed in Egypt in 1801. He was in the party which attacked the redoubt at Bunker Hill. It is probably from him that the anecdote comes, repeated in Lord Mahon's history, that, as the English ranks broke, a voice from the American works asked, "Are the Americans cowards, Captain Abercromby?" He was wounded at Monmouth.

LINDSAY, Earl of BALCARROS, born 1752, died 1825. He served as major in the Fifty-third foot under Sir George Carleton and Burgoyne. He was afterwards lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.

Sir GEORGE BACKWICH, born 1753, died 1823. As lieutenant in the Thirty-seventh foot he sailed under Cornwallis, January 1776, for America. He was at Brooklyn, White Plains, Brandywine and Germantown. Served as aide-de-camp to Knyphausen, and shares the disgrace of the massacre of Groton with Arnold and Bromfield. He was for some years commander of the English forces in the West Indies.

Sir JOHN BURGoyNE, born 1730, died 1792. Arrived in Boston in May, 1775. Capitulated in the "Convention" at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. Lord Mahon cites this amusing comment on Burgoyne by one of his officers:—"C'est un brave homme mais lourde comme un Allemand."

Sir HENRY CLINTON was born about 1735, died 1808. The place of birth of Sir Henry Clinton does not appear in the brief biographies in the dictionaries. It is said in one of them that he was born about 1738, but this is too late, for he was made lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards November 1st, 1751. Before this time, under his father's administration of New York he had been captain-lieutenant of the English companies there, which means, I think, not the militia, but the garrison from the regular English army. In 1731 his father, Captain George Clinton of the English navy, was governor of Newfoundland. But at that time there were few or no English residents in that island. The boy Henry Clinton probably came to New York with his father who was commissioned governor of that province in 1741, and he probably lived there till 1751 when he entered the Coldstream Guards. In 1762 he became colonel in the army. He served with credit in the Seven Years' war in Germany and was general in 1772.

General Clinton's father was Admiral George Clinton, his mother was Anne, daughter of General Carle. Admiral Clinton was governor of New York from 1741 to 1753, when he retired with eighty thousand pounds sterling, "which it is alleged he acquired in that government." Admiral Clinton died in 1761.

It would seem therefore that Clinton was educated in the New York schools, as Ochterlony and Gordon were educated in the Boston Latin School.

He was the grandson (by his father) of Francis, sixth Earl of Lincoln; nephew and namesake of Henry, seventh Earl, and was cousin of George the eighth Earl and Henry the ninth Earl. The last of these earls of Lincoln married Miss Pelham, daughter of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is thus that to our great good fortune our Sir Henry Clinton was connected with the Pelhams and Newcastles. At his death, Sir Henry Clinton was Lieutenant General and governor of Limerick, "the appointment of which is 30 shillings per day," and groom of the bed chamber to the Duke of Gloucester. He had been M. P. for Newark, and afterwards for Lannceston.

Sir GUY CARLTON, born 1724, died 1806. (Lord DONOMASTON); served under Amherst and Wolfe,—commanded in Canada through most of the war, and succeeded Clinton as commander-in-chief.

CHARLES, 1st Earl CORNWALLIS, born December 31, 1738, died 1805. He arrived in America, at Cape Fear, Wilmington, May 3, 1776. Joined Howe at Staten Island,—and was at Long Island, Princeton, Brandywine and other engagements, before his Southern Campaigns.

WILLIAM SCHAW, Earl CATHCART, born in 1755—served in 16th Light Dragoons, and was aide-de-camp to Sir T. Wilson and Sir Henry Clinton. He was chief of the "Knights of the Blended Rose," in the Tournament of the *Mischianza* at Philadelphia, his device on that occasion was Cupid riding on a lion, his motto "Surmounted by Love,"—and he appeared in honor of Miss Auchmuty. Notwithstanding which, he married, two years after, in New York, the daughter of Andrew Elliott, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. He was Colonel of the Caledonian Volunteers,—and was at the Siege of Charleston. He was afterwards in the Diplomatic Service of England,—and was made a Viscount. His brother, Captain Andrew Cathcart, of the 15th infantry, was wounded at Monmouth.

Major WEMYSS, in the paper already cited, makes the following bitter reference to Lord Cathcart's rapid promotion:

"LORD CATHCART, appointed Cornet in the 19th Light Dragoons, was, on his arrival at Philadelphia in the spring, '78, made Aide-de-Camp to Sir Wm. Howe; and on Sir Henry Clinton succeeding to the command a short time after, was also his Aide-de-Camp, and continued as such until appointed Quarter-Master General in room of Brigadier General Dalrymple gone to England; and about the same time Colonel of the Provincial Regiment (to be raised from the Jails and Prison Ships,) afterwards known by the name of Tarleton's Legion, of which Tarleton, a Volunteer just arrived from England, was made Lieutenant-Colonel. His Lordship served as Quarter-Master-General until the surrender of Charleston in May following; when he was sent home with despatches on that event, to receive the reward of a grateful country, for his long

and meritorious services of about two years; by being appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the Guards."

General JAMES HENRY CRAIG, born about 1740, died 1812. He was made Commander-in-Chief in Canada, in 1809.

EDWARD MARCUS DESPARD, born 1751, hanged 1803, who rose to the rank of Colonel in the English army in the West Indies, had served in America. In 1802, he formed a plot to overthrow the Government, and assassinate the king. He was betrayed, tried, and convicted, on the testimony of his accomplices.

Sir JAMES STEWART DENHAM, born 1745, entered the service in 1761, in the 1st Dragoons. He held a high command in Ireland in the latter part of his life.

Sir WILLIAM DRAPER, born 1721, died 1787, married in America the daughter of Chief Justice De Lancy. He was a Lieutenant-General, and Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca.

Sir H. W. DALRYMPLE, born 1750, ensign of 31st foot in 1763,—died 1830. He was disgraced for a supposed failure in the Peninsula, being responsible for the convention of Torres-Vedras. He is probably the Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, who was in command at Staten Island in 1776. Major Wemyss makes the following comments upon him:

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL DALRYMPLE: *Gr.-Mr.-Gen'l* to Sir Henry Clinton. Pompous, consequential and nicknamed Agamemnon; was as unfit to be Quarter-Master-General to the Army in the Field, as Professor of *Materia Medica* in a University. Fortunately his services were confined to New York, where he lived like a Prince, having nothing to do but to make money, and to spend it."

Sir WILLIAM ERSKINE, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 71st regiment, held rank as Brigadier-General at New York. Major Wemyss says, "Although he had seen a good deal of service in Germany, and at the head of a regiment of light dragoons, had acquired the character of a brave and active officer, he was but an indifferent Quarter-Master-General. Confused in his ideas, he was tedious and indistinct in expressing them; was too fond of money, and too much addicted to the bottle." On the other hand, Harcourt writes of him, "Erskine is the soul of our army."¹

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD, born 1763, died in prison 1792. Sailed for America in 1779,—and was aide-de-camp to Lord Rawdon in Carolina. At Eutaw Springs he was left insensible on the field. An unsuccessful attachment in love led him, after having tried a parliamentary career, to rejoin his regiment in Canada in 1786,—and in America, according to Thomas Moore, he contracted his Republican ideas.

General THOMAS GAGE, born 1721, died 1788. Was commander-in-chief in 1774 and 1775 in Boston.

LORD GREY (CHARLES GREY) is the General Grey of our Revolution,—who destroyed New Bedford, and ravaged Martha's Vineyard. For these services he was promoted to be Lieutenant-General. He is the father of Earl Grey of the Reform Bill. He was born in 1829, made Baron in 1801,

¹ Evelyn papers, p. 236.

and Earl in 1806. Of him Major Wemyss says, that he was "an excellent officer of some abilities, but too much led by the officers about him in the choice of whom he was by no means fortunate."

FRANCIS RAWDON, Marquis of HASTINGS, born 1754, died 1826. He commanded the Grenadiers at Bunker Hill, and received two shots in his leg. He was Cornwallis's second in Carolina, and witnessed the surrender at Yorktown as a prisoner, having been captured at sea by the *Glorious*. He is the Earl of Moira, known as a favorite of George IV. Of him Major Wemyss says: "Adjutant-General to Sir Henry Clinton, Colonel of a Provincial regiment raised in New York, by the name 'Volunteers of Ireland.' Of good abilities, and zealous in the service of his country; but his generous and unsuspecting character led him to support too warmly the interest of some of his designing countrymen and followers." By "countrymen" Major Wemyss means Irishmen.

WILLIAM, Earl HARCOURT, born 1743, died 1830. As Captain in the Third Dragoons he served in America. In reward for the capture of General Lee the King made him an aide-de-camp. George IV. made him Grand Cross of the Bath,—and he was the first Governor of Sandhurst College. He was on terms of close intimacy with George III. and Queen Charlotte. His entertaining letters have recently been printed as "The Evelyns in America."

GEORGE, Lord HARRIS, born 1746, died 1829. He was of the 5th Regiment of Foot, "covered the retreat from Lexington," was wounded at Bunker Hill, rejoined Howe in 1776, and was wounded "in the attack on Iron Hill."

Sir WILLIAM HOWE (see p. 325) succeeded General Gage. He was relieved by Sir Henry Clinton, at Philadelphia, May, 1777. Howe first won public attention and applause at Quebec in 1759. He served under Wolfe in command of one of the Highland regiments, since distinguished, created by Pitt's bold and wise policy in 1757. On the night of the 12th of September, Wolfe's advance in the enterprise of climbing the Heights of Abraham, was commanded by Monckton and Murray. In that advance Colonel Howe commanded the light infantry and the Highlanders,—and led the party which first climbed the precipice. In the battle which followed he was first engaged,—took with opposition a four-gun battery, and was afterwards posted, to await Montcalm's attack in the rear of the left wing. The steadiness of that wing,—from which Colonel Howe once and again sallied out with two companies against the right flank of the French, and checked the advance of the French right, was highly praised at the time.

Howe certainly did not lack for personal bravery. "I shall not desire you to go a step further than where I myself go at your head," he said at Bunker Hill and he was true to his word. He led his men to the rail-fence three times. He bore a charmed life that day, and came off without a wound, though his white silk stockings were stained with the blood which they wiped from the tall grass, as he repass-

the ground where his men had fallen. It was in that part of the field that of one light company of the fifty-second regiment every man was killed or wounded.

Major Wemyss gives the following opinion of Sir William Howe: "Lieut.-Gen. Sir Wm. Howe succeeded General Gage with the good opinion of the army, but it was soon discovered that however fit to command a corps of grenadiers, he was altogether unequal to the duties of Commander-in-chief of which his misconduct on almost all occasions, particularly at the beginning of the war at Long Island, White Plains and Trenton are undoubted proofs. His manners are sullen and ungracious, with a dislike to business, and a propensity to pleasure. His staff officers were in general below mediocrity, with some of whom, and a few field officers he passed most of his time in private conviviality."

Gen. STUBBOLM HODGSON, born 1708, died 1798. A field marshal. His first distinction was won in the attack and capture of Belle Isle in 1761.

GERARD, Viscount LAKE, born 1744, died 1808. General in the army, and governor of Plymouth. He joined the Guards under Cornwallis, and received Cornwallis's thanks for his gallantry in the one sortie made by the garrison of Yorktown.

Sir WILLIAM MEDOWS, born December 31, 1738 (the same day with Lord Cornwallis), died 1813. General, Governor of Hull, Knight of the Bath. Commanded the First brigade of Guards in America, and was wounded at Brandywine.

General MONCKTON, died 1782. Governor of Portsmouth, England. Took command at Quebec when Wolfe fell. He had been Governor of Nova Scotia.

General JOHN MONEY, born 1752, died 1817. Was once taken prisoner in Canada by the Americans.

Sir JOHN MOORE, born 1761, died 1809. He was the unfortunate hero of Corunna. He joined the Fifth foot in 1776 and soon after in the Eighty-second went to Nova Scotia. He was there for some years and narrowly escaped being cut off by a superior force at Penobscot. He was with Cornwallis in Virginia, but the 82nd returned to New York before the siege of Yorktown.

Sir GEORGE MURRAY, born 1761. Entered the Seventy-first foot in 1779. He served in Spain and Canada, was a member of Parliament, and was made D. C. L. by the University of Oxford.

General ROBERT MELVILLE, born 1723, died 1809. Commanded in the West Indies through the Revolutionary War.

HENRY PHIPPS, Earl Mulgrave, born 1755. He was made an Earl in 1812, having been secretary of state for the war department, Lord of the Admiralty. In his youth he served in America.

Sir BARRASTRE TARLETON, K. C. V., born 1754, well known as commander of the British Legion under Cornwallis, when he distinguished himself as a cavalry officer.

GEORGE (Marquis) TOWNSEND, born 1723, died 1807. A Field

Marshal. The chief command at Quebec devolved on him after Monckton was wounded.

I have not attempted, in this short list, to make my own selection of distinguished officers in the English army. I have merely taken the list made by the editor of the Georgian Era. I should have supposed that such a list would have also included the following officers, all of whom served in America:

Major General Sir Archibald Campbell, died 1791.

Field Marshal Sir Alured Clarke, died 1832. Captured Cape of Good Hope, 1795.

General Sir John Doyle, born 1750, died 1834.

Major General Thomas Dundas, born 1750, died 1794.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Haldane, born 1750, died 1825.

Lieutenant-General Alexander Mackay, died 1789.

General Sir John Macleod, born 1752, died 1833.

General O'Hara, died 1802. Governor of Gibraltar.

Lieutenant-General Hugh Earl Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland. Of him Major Wemyss says, he was "capricious, unsteady to a great degree, but was willing to do his duty to the best of his judgement."

Lieutenant-General James Robertson, died 1788.

General Alexander Ross, died 1827. Cornwallis's aide-de-camp.

Lieutenant-General John Graves Simcoe, died 1806. Governor of Upper Canada.

General J. W. T. Watson, died 1826.

But none of these names are in that list.

It may be convenient to Students of American history to know that Major Wemyss gives the following list of officers whom he knew in New York, and adds his notes on most of them. His notes in MS. are in the Library of Harvard College, among Dr. Sparks's papers.

Lieutenant-General	Gage.
"	Howe.
"	Sir Henry Clinton.
"	Earl Cornwallis.
"	Earl Percy.
"	Robertson.
"	The Hon. Alexander Leslie.
Major-General	Mossey.
"	Vaughn.
"	Sir Charles Grey.
"	Daniel Jones.
"	Valentine Jones.
"	Grant.
"	Tryon.
"	Prevost.
"	Prescott.
"	Matthews.
"	Pigot.
"	Campbell.
"	Cleveland.

Major-General	Pattison.
" "	Phillips.
" "	Paterson.
" "	Gunning.
Brigadier-General	Sir William Erskine.
" "	Smith.
" "	Stirling.
" "	Dalrymple.
" "	Campbell.
" "	Agnew.
" "	Birch.
" "	Clarke.
" "	Stewart.
" "	Leland.
" "	O'Hara.
	Lord Rawdon.
Major	André.
"	DeLancey.
Lord	Cathcart.



REPORT ON BY-LAWS.



REPORT ON BY-LAWS.

IN pursuance of instructions given at a former meeting I have examined the existing and past By-Laws of the Society and now submit the following report. I find that the existing code has been amended from time to time but not in the manner therein provided for such amendments. By the original act of incorporation approved by Governor Strong October 24, 1812, it is provided that the members of this Society shall have power to elect a president, vice-president and such other officers as they may determine to be necessary, that the Society shall have power to make by-laws for governing its members and property, and may expel, disfranchise or suspend any member, who by misconduct shall be rendered unworthy; that it may establish rules for electing officers and members and may fix the times and places of holding its meetings. At a meeting held November 19, 1812, the President, Judge Bangs, Dr. Bancroft, Timothy Bigelow, Esq., and Prof. Peck were appointed a committee to draw up regulations and by-laws for the Society. At a meeting of the Society February 3, 1813, that committee reported a code of by-laws which was adopted by the Society.

The code provided for the election of a president and two vice-presidents who should, *ex-officio*, be members of the Council, seven councillors exclusive of the *ex-officio* members; a recording and assistant and two corresponding secretaries; a treasurer; a librarian and cabinet-keeper, and

defined the duties of these several officers. It provided that no article should ever on any occasion be loaned from the museum, nor any book or other article be loaned from the library except by vote of the Council and the borrower was required to return the book loaned within four weeks or pay such forfeiture as the Council by vote might fix. Three meetings of the Society annually were provided for. One in Boston December 22d, one in Boston the first Wednesday in June and one in Worcester Wednesday next after the fourth Tuesday of September.

The seventh article provided that at any meeting any member might propose the name of any candidate for membership by writing his name with his own in a book kept for that purpose, and at the next meeting such candidate might be voted for and elected if he received two-thirds of the votes cast.

The eighth article read as follows : " Each member shall pay annually two dollars, and a neglect for three years shall be taken as evidence that the member has abdicated his interest in the Society and shall no longer be a member."

In case of the death, resignation, incapacity or removal from the State of either of the secretaries, or treasurer or librarian, the Council were to take charge of the property and buildings of the Society and deliver the same to the persons whom they might appoint to hold the offices till the next meeting of the Society.

At a meeting held October 23, 1813, six additional by-laws were adopted, providing that a temporary depository of gifts be established in Boston : that the secretary should record the names of members and the date of their admission ; that the payment of twenty dollars by any member should excuse him from the payment of two dollars annually ; that every deed under the seal of the Society should be passed and sealed in Council and signed by the president and attested by the secretary ; that every new member should be notified of his election by a printed letter signed by the

recording secretary; that all books and other articles belonging to the Society should be appraised and the value marked in the catalogue; that a correct catalogue of the books and other articles should be made by the librarian, or by a committee, and a copy thereof should be kept by the president, and all additions should be entered on the catalogue and on the copy in the possession of the president.

At a meeting December 22, 1813, it was voted that the by-laws be so far altered that the anniversary of the Society shall be celebrated October 23d and that the officers shall be elected on that day. At a meeting June 1, 1814, article eight was amended so as to apply only to members residing in the State. This article provides for the annual payment of two dollars.

January 18, 1816, the Society voted that "no person shall be elected a member who has not stood in nomination at least six months and then only at a meeting in Boston."

At a meeting held January 18, 1815, it was voted that the fundamental laws contained in ten articles, be and are hereby repealed, and the following twelve articles substituted as the laws of the American Antiquarian Society. These twelve articles may be found in the first printed volume of the Society's Transactions. January 27, 1820, article nine was amended so as to make the payment of six dollars obligatory. June 30, 1831, article seven was modified so that the sub-council at Worcester might cause deeds and other instruments to be executed in such manner and by such persons as they shall direct. Also, "Resolved that the sub-council at Worcester have power to make such arrangements as to the care and superintendence of the library as they shall think wise for the interest of the Society." The Council was divided into two sections or sub-councils, one in Worcester and one in Boston. At one time it was provided that one at least of the Council should be a resident of the Old Colony.

The last code of by-laws and that now nominally in force was adopted at the annual meeting held October 24, 1831. This code was printed in a small pamphlet form, one copy of which only is now in the library.

By this code the officers of the Society are such as are now annually elected. It prescribes the duties of the several officers, that the Council shall hold stated meetings in Worcester on the last Wednesdays of October, January, April and July, and special meetings on call of the president; that at special meetings a majority of the whole board shall constitute a quorum; at stated meetings five members shall be a quorum; that the Council shall have the general superintendence of all the property and affairs of the Society, make disbursements for current expenses not exceeding the annual income; twice in each year shall carefully examine the library and cabinet and other property and make report to the Society; may appoint a librarian and such other salaried officers and agents as they may judge necessary, prescribe their duties and fix their compensation, and at each stated meeting of the Society make report of all their doings.

By article six two stated meetings of the Society are required to be held in each year, one at Worcester on the 23d day of October, or the Monday following if the 23d is Sunday; and one at Boston on the last Wednesday of May. By article seven the American members are limited to one hundred and forty, and that no person shall be elected a member unless he shall have been nominated one month in the Council and afterwards recommended by the Council, and such election must be at a stated meeting and by three-fourths at least of the ballots of the members present.

Article eight provides that "a librarian and cabinet keeper shall be annually appointed by the Council, to be subject to their direction, and removable by them for misconduct." By article nine no new laws or alteration of a

standing law is to be made until recommended by the Council and adopted by the Society at a stated meeting.

It is provided that the librarian shall give bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties; that he shall have the care of the library and cabinet, paying particular attention to security from fire, and shall be accountable for any loss or injury happening from his negligence.

It is a striking illustration of a not very uncommon fact, that laws enacted with great formality are allowed to remain inoperative, that Mr. Haven was appointed Librarian by the Council, September 23, 1837, and he entered upon his duties, April 1, 1838, and continued for more than forty years to discharge the duties of that office, without any re-appointment and without even giving bonds as the By-Laws required.

Of course, with such an officer as Mr. Haven, one appointment was as good as forty and no bond was needed to secure the faithful performance of every duty he undertook. But such an absolute and prolonged disregard on the part of the Society of its own laws can hardly be considered a proper subject of commendation. Other irregularities have occurred in the action of the Society in reference to its standing laws.

April 27, 1853, a resolution was passed in the meeting of that date, that the annual meeting of the Society hereafter shall be on such day as the Council shall determine.

April 25, 1855, a vote was passed upon a motion by some member, without any previous recommendation of the Council, as required by the By-Laws, that the day of the annual meeting be on the 21st of October, unless that day fall on Sunday, when the meeting shall be held on the 22nd of October. This action was a violation of the standing laws of the Society. It may be remarked in passing that the original Act of Incorporation was amended by an Act of the Legislature, approved March 26, 1852, authorizing the Society to hold real estate, the annual income of which shall

not exceed Four Thousand Dollars, and personal estate not exceeding One Hundred Thousand Dollars, exclusive of Books, &c. The original limit of annual income was \$1,500.

A new code of By-Laws based upon that of 1831, with some additions and alterations, is herewith submitted for the consideration of the Society.

P. EMORY ALDRICH.

Committee.

BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCT. 21ST, 1881.

ARTICLE I.—OFFICERS.

The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, a Secretary for Foreign, and a Secretary for Domestic, Correspondence, and a Treasurer, who shall be members *ex-officio* of the Council, and ten Councillors; and also a Committee of Publication and two Auditors, all of whom shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting in October, and hold their respective offices one year, and until their successors shall be elected.

ARTICLE II.—MEETINGS.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council when present, and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside; and in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, the Senior Councillor present shall preside.

The President shall see that the duties of the several offices are faithfully performed, and the Laws executed.

ARTICLE III.—SECRETARIES.

The Recording Secretary shall keep a fair record of all the doings of the Society and Council, to be deposited, when not in use, with all papers of his department, in the Library Building of the Society, in Worcester. He shall give notice of each stated meeting of the Society, by publishing the same in such newspapers in Boston and Worcester, and by such other means as the Council shall direct. But negligence on the part of the Secretary in giving such notice, shall not prevent the holding of any stated meeting, nor render its proceedings invalid.

All letters received and copies of those written by the Corresponding Secretaries shall be preserved, and communicated by them to the Society.

ARTICLE IV.—TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall receive and keep the funds of the Society, and all books and papers relating thereto, and shall invest and manage the funds of the Society, under the direction of the Council. He shall keep accurate accounts of the same, and of all receipts and payments, subject at all times to the inspection of the officers of the Society, and shall present a copy thereof to the Council, at their meeting next preceding any stated meeting of the Society.

He shall give bonds to be approved by the Council for the faithful performance of the duties of his office, and shall receive such compensation as the Council may determine.

ARTICLE V.—THE COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the control and general management of all the property of the Society, both personal and real, and may take, release, or transfer securities for any patron of the funds of the Society, and may receive and execute deeds of real estate on behalf of the Society, and they may determine by what officer or officers deeds of the Society shall be executed.

The Council may make or authorize disbursements for current expenses and other objects of the Society, to an amount not exceeding the annual income.

Twice, at least, in every year, they shall carefully examine, or cause to be examined by a Committee appointed for that purpose, the Library, Cabinet and other property, and make report to the Society of the state of the funds, and amount and character of the investments.

They may appoint a Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, and Assistant-Librarian, and such other subordinate officers and agents as they may judge necessary, allow them reasonable compensation, and prescribe such duties to them as they may think proper, not inconsistent with the laws and objects of the Society. The officers and agents so appointed shall hold their respective offices during the pleasure of the Council. The Council may meet at such times and places as they may deem necessary, and provide for the manner in which such meetings shall be called. Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Council; they shall, at each stated meeting of the Society, make a report of their doings, which shall be subject to the control of the Society. The Council shall have power to make such rules and regulations as to the superintendence

and use of the Library and Cabinet as they shall consider most conducive to the preservation and highest utility of the same.

ARTICLE VI.

The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held every year, at the Library Building of the Society, in Worcester, on the twenty-first day of October, and when the same falls on Sunday, the meeting shall be on the Monday following: the Semi-Annual Meeting shall be held in Boston every year, on the last Wednesday of April, at such place as the Council shall designate.

ARTICLE VII.

The American members of the Society shall at no time exceed One Hundred and Forty. No person shall be elected a member until his nomination for membership has been at least one month before the Council, nor until he has been recommended to the Society by the Council; nor shall any person be elected a member at any other than a stated meeting of the Society, and it shall require at least three-fourths of all the ballots cast to elect.

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to send by mail a written notice to every newly-elected member, of his election. And if any person so elected and notified neglects for four months to signify in writing to the secretary his acceptance of membership, the secretary shall report such neglect to the Council at its next meeting, and the Council shall then determine whether the name of such person shall be stricken from the list of members.

Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Recording Secretary under the direction of the President, or in his absence or inability to act, under the direction of one of the Vice-Presidents, and in the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents the Secretary may call a special meeting, upon the written request of any two members of the Council. Notice of such special meetings shall be published in the same manner as notices of the stated meetings of the Society are required to be published by the Third Article of these By-Laws.

The Society shall not, at any meeting, proceed to business unless five at least of the Council are present, but the meeting may be adjourned from time to time until such quorum shall attend.

At each stated meeting, the Secretaries and Council shall report their respective doings since the last meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.

Every new member residing in the United States shall pay an admission fee of five dollars; and all members residing in New England shall pay an annual fee of five dollars. A payment of fifty dollars at one time, shall exempt the member so paying from the payment of the annual fee of five dollars.

ARTICLE IX.

No new law or alteration of any of these By-Laws shall be made, unless recommended by the Council and adopted by the Society at a stated meeting.

ARTICLE X.

All By-Laws and votes of the Society inconsistent with the foregoing are hereby repealed and rescinded.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL AND THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LIBRARY.

THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Two members of the Council shall annually be appointed a Committee on the Library, whose duty it shall be to decide upon the details of administration, and to superintend and direct in regard to the use of the Library and its collections, subject to the approval of the Council.

THE LIBRARIAN AND ASSISTANTS.

The Librarian and Assistants shall have charge and custody of the books and collections, subject to the direction of the Library Committee, and shall administer the details of the Library to the approval of said Committee, who shall prescribe the hours for the use of books and all matters of administration.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

The Committee of Publication shall be permitted to take such books and manuscripts from the Library as they may need in order to perform the duty assigned to them by the Society, but a record of all books and manuscripts so taken shall be entered in a book prepared for the purpose, and it shall be the duty of the Librarian and Assistants to require a return of such books and manuscripts as soon as the publication for which they were borrowed is issued.

USE OF THE LIBRARY.

1. Members of the Society only are entitled to enter and remain in the Alcoves unattended, but for specific purposes other persons may enter the Alcoves when accompanied by the Librarian or Assistants for the purpose of obtaining and consulting books, but shall not be allowed

to remain in the Alcoves unless especially authorized by a member of Council.

2. Any person who desires to use books in the Library may be furnished with volumes for consultation upon application to the Librarian and Assistants.

3. When any book, map, chart or ms. shall be delivered to any one for consultation or reference, it shall be the duty of the Librarian or Assistant to make a memorandum of the title of the same and the name of the person applying for it, which memorandum shall be kept on file in the Librarian's room, till the return of the volume shall be duly verified.

4. All volumes or other matter issued for use during the day shall be returned to the Librarian or Assistant before the close of the Library.

5. It shall be the duty of the Librarian and Assistants to examine all books and manuscripts after their use in the Library, to ascertain if they are returned in as good condition as when they were given out.

6. It shall be the province of the Library Committee and of them alone to authorize the temporary removal and use of books or articles belonging to the Society outside of the Library, and it shall also be their duty to cause a description of the books or articles thus loaned to be kept in a book prepared for the purpose, which entry shall contain a receipt for the same on the part of the borrower and also the endorsed approval of one of the Library Committee with the date of the transaction.

7. Valuable books, maps, manuscripts, charts, etc., shall be consulted only in the presence and at the discretion of the Librarian or Assistants, or upon the written request of one of the Council.

8. All manuscripts belonging to the Society shall be kept under lock and key and shall be used only in presence of the Librarian or an Assistant, or a member of the Library Committee.

9. No manuscript and no part of a manuscript belonging to the Society shall be copied except on permission granted by the Council after an application in writing, specifying the manuscript or part thereof desired to be copied; and if any manuscript belonging to the Society shall in consequence of such permission be published in whole or in part, the fact that it was obtained from the Society shall be required to be stated in its publication. But nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the publication of names, dates and other chronological memoranda without special permission.

10. Manuscripts of a confidential nature shall be retained in a place of special deposit and shall be consulted only under such regulations as may be prescribed in each case by a vote of the Council.

No maps, newspapers or books of great rarity shall be taken from the Library except by a vote of the Council.

11. All tracts, books, maps and manuscripts belonging to the Society shall be distinctly marked as its property; and any such tract, book, etc., that may be presented to the Society shall be marked with the name of the donor and recorded as his gift.

12. A record shall be kept of all books, pamphlets or other articles presented to the Society, which shall specify the name of the donor and the date of presentation. All books presented shall be entered upon the card catalogue and placed in their proper position in the Library as soon after their receipt as possible.

ERRATA.

Page VII., line 2, add *1880*. Page VII., add to list of Secretaries for Domestic Correspondence, *Charles Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass., 1880.*

Page X., line 8, for Charlestown, read *Boston*.

Page XI., line 2, for Stoughton, read *Strong*.

Page XI., line 7, for Eldridge, read *Elbridge*.

Page XII., line 26, for Richard, read *Robert*.

Page 136, line 14, for 1766, read *1776*.

Page 318, line 20, for 7th, read *28th*.

Page 372, line 34, for Hayward, read *Haywood*.

Page 373, line 5, for Johnson, read *Johnston*.

Page 373, line 30, for Hayward, read *Haywood*.

Page 374, line 15, for Johnson, read *Johnston*.

Page 380, line 10, for " Vol. IV. Transactions of this Society," read *Proceedings of this Society, April, 1862.*

Page 391, 5th line from bottom, for Daniel, read *David*,

Page 394, line 10, for Daniel, read *David*.

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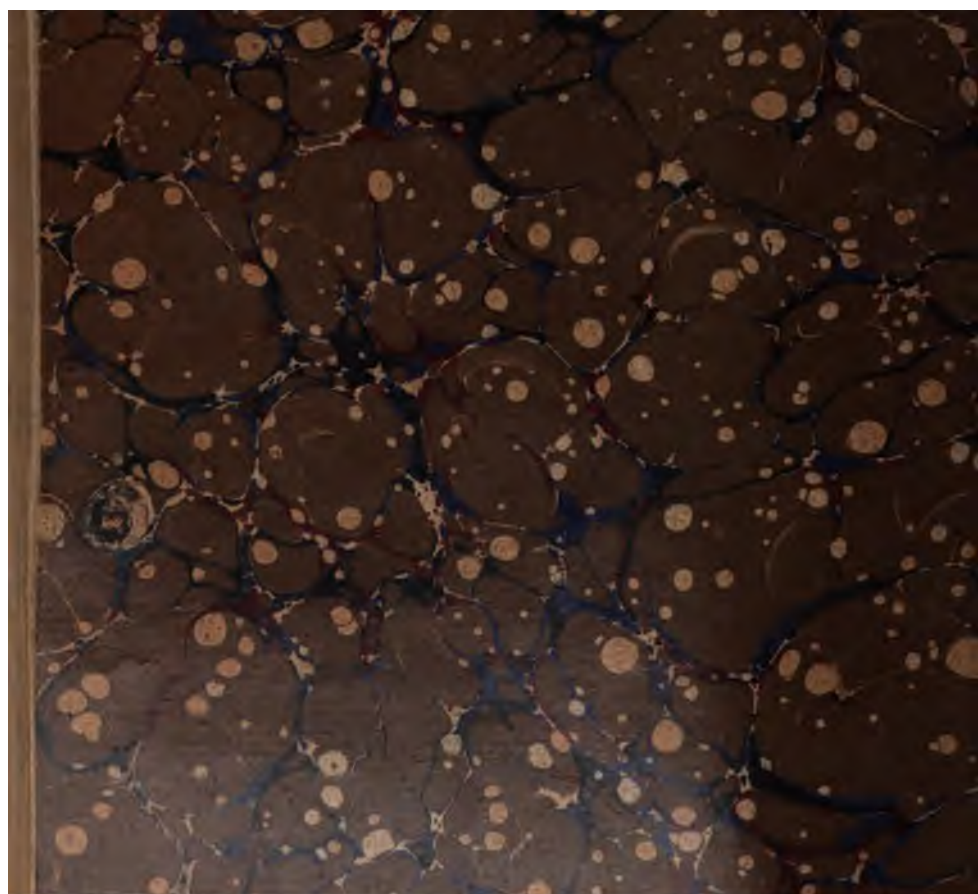
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